



This is a digital copy of a book that was preserved for generations on library shelves before it was carefully scanned by Google as part of a project to make the world's books discoverable online.

It has survived long enough for the copyright to expire and the book to enter the public domain. A public domain book is one that was never subject to copyright or whose legal copyright term has expired. Whether a book is in the public domain may vary country to country. Public domain books are our gateways to the past, representing a wealth of history, culture and knowledge that's often difficult to discover.

Marks, notations and other marginalia present in the original volume will appear in this file - a reminder of this book's long journey from the publisher to a library and finally to you.

Usage guidelines

Google is proud to partner with libraries to digitize public domain materials and make them widely accessible. Public domain books belong to the public and we are merely their custodians. Nevertheless, this work is expensive, so in order to keep providing this resource, we have taken steps to prevent abuse by commercial parties, including placing technical restrictions on automated querying.

We also ask that you:

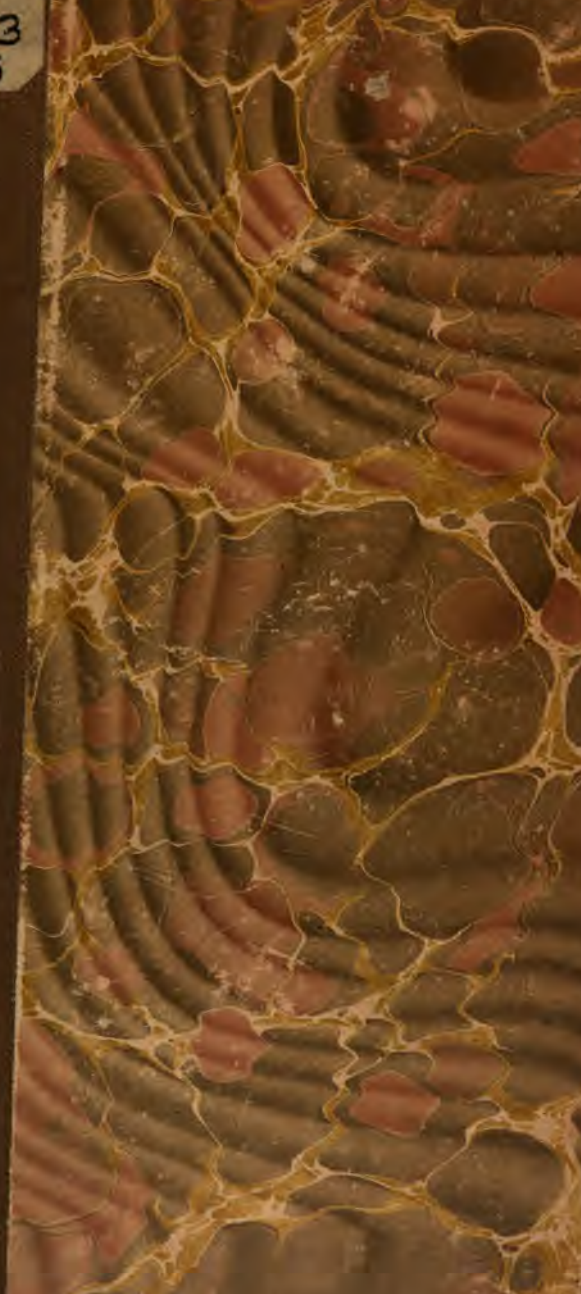
- + *Make non-commercial use of the files* We designed Google Book Search for use by individuals, and we request that you use these files for personal, non-commercial purposes.
- + *Refrain from automated querying* Do not send automated queries of any sort to Google's system: If you are conducting research on machine translation, optical character recognition or other areas where access to a large amount of text is helpful, please contact us. We encourage the use of public domain materials for these purposes and may be able to help.
- + *Maintain attribution* The Google "watermark" you see on each file is essential for informing people about this project and helping them find additional materials through Google Book Search. Please do not remove it.
- + *Keep it legal* Whatever your use, remember that you are responsible for ensuring that what you are doing is legal. Do not assume that just because we believe a book is in the public domain for users in the United States, that the work is also in the public domain for users in other countries. Whether a book is still in copyright varies from country to country, and we can't offer guidance on whether any specific use of any specific book is allowed. Please do not assume that a book's appearance in Google Book Search means it can be used in any manner anywhere in the world. Copyright infringement liability can be quite severe.

About Google Book Search

Google's mission is to organize the world's information and to make it universally accessible and useful. Google Book Search helps readers discover the world's books while helping authors and publishers reach new audiences. You can search through the full text of this book on the web at <http://books.google.com/>

Webster - Bunker Hill
Monument. 1893.

5023
37.5



S 5023.37.5

Harvard College Library



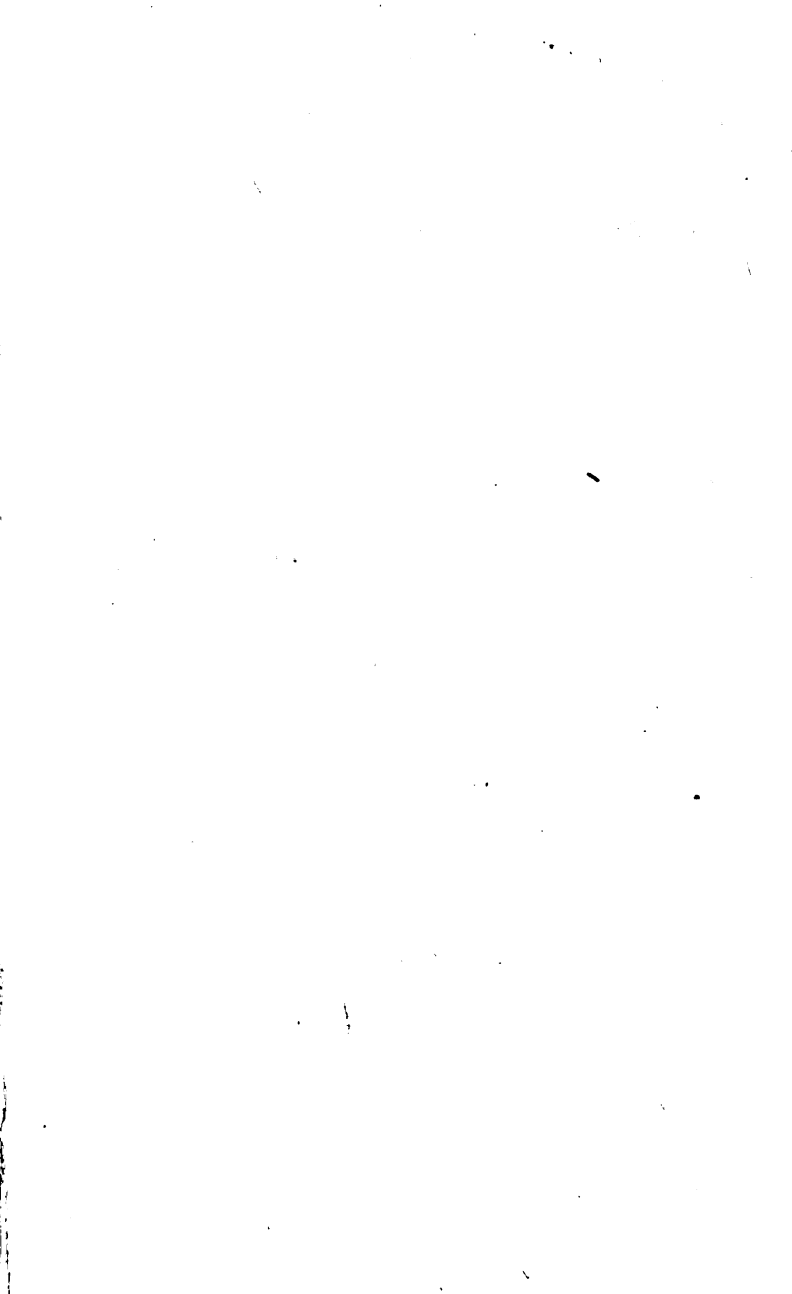
FROM THE LIBRARY OF

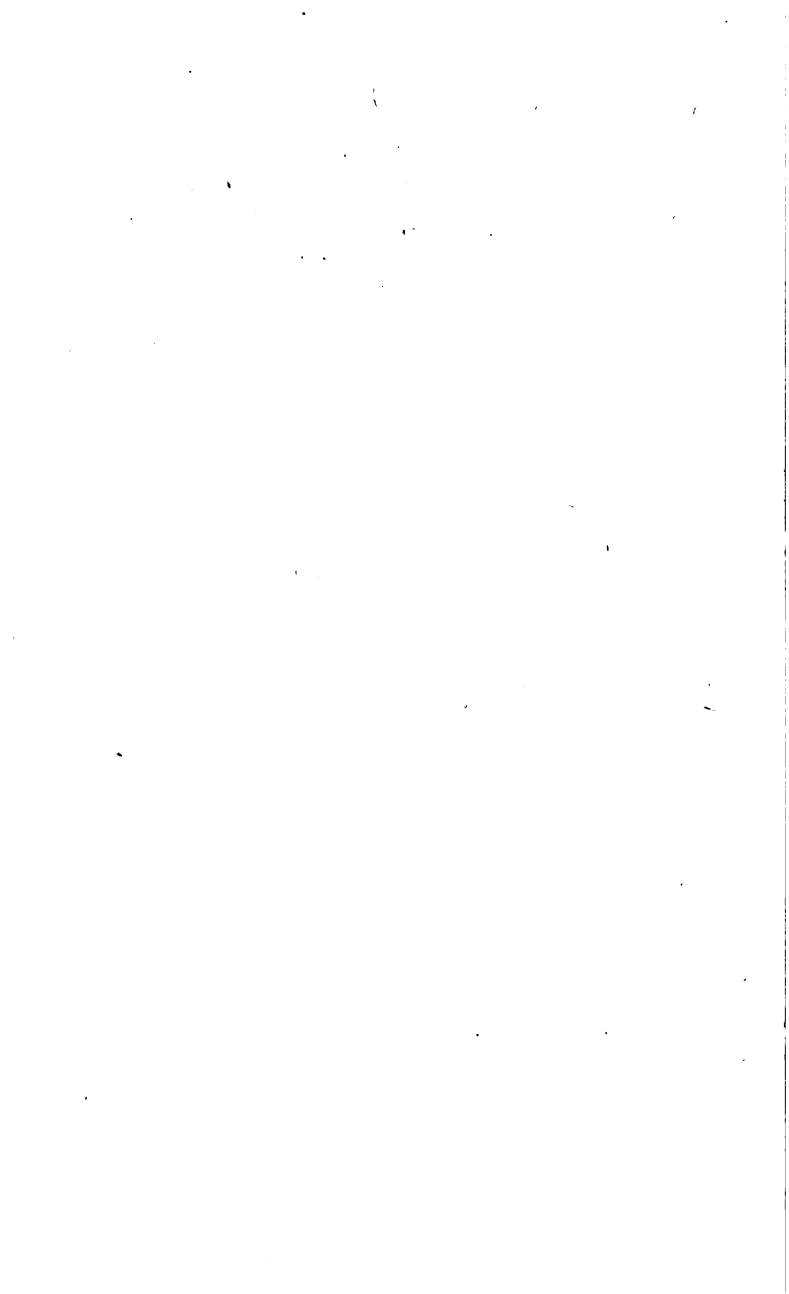
THOMAS HALL

(Class of 1893)

INSTRUCTOR IN ENGLISH, 1895-1911

Received January 22, 1912





U.S. 5023.39
Thomas Hall.

Issued Quarterly

Number 56

December, 1892

RIVERSIDE LITERATURE SERIES

THE BUNKER HILL MONUMENT ADAMS AND JEF- FERSON

TWO ORATIONS

BY

DANIEL WEBSTER

WITH A BIOGRAPHICAL SKETCH
AND BRIEF NOTES



HOUGHTON, MIFFLIN & COMPANY
BOSTON, NEW YORK, AND CHICAGO
The Riverside Press, Cambridge

Entered at the Post Office, Boston, Mass., as second-class matter

Single Numbers FIFTEEN CENTS
Double Numbers THIRTY CENTS

{ Yearly Subscription
(4 Numbers) 50 Cents

The Riverside Literature Series.

With Introductions, Notes, Historical Sketches, and Biographical Sketches. Each regular single number, paper, 15 cents, net, postpaid.

1. Longfellow's *Evangeline*.* ††
2. Longfellow's *Courtship of Miles Standish*; *Elizabeth*.*
3. Longfellow's *Courtship of Miles Standish*. *DRAMATIZED*.
4. Whittier's *Snow-Bound*, and Other Poems.* †† **
5. Whittier's *Mabel Martin*, and Other Poems.**
6. Holmes's *Grandmother's Story of Bunker Hill Battle*, etc.**
- 7, 8, 9. Hawthorne's *Grandfather's Chair*. In three parts. ††
10. Hawthorne's *Biographical Stories*. With Questions.**
11. Longfellow's *Children's Hour*, and Other Selections.**
12. *Studies in Longfellow, Whittier, Holmes, and Lowell*.
- 13, 14. Longfellow's *Song of Hiawatha*. In two parts. †
15. Lowell's *Under the Old Elm*, and Other Poems.**
16. Bayard Taylor's *Lars: a Pastoral of Norway*, etc.
- 17, 18. Hawthorne's *Wonder-Book*. In two parts. †
- 19, 20. Benjamin Franklin's *Autobiography*. In two parts. †
21. Benjamin Franklin's *Poor Richard's Almanac*, etc.
- 22, 23. Hawthorne's *Tanglewood Tales*. In two parts. †
24. Washington's *Rules of Conduct, Letters, and Addresses*.*
- 25, 26. Longfellow's *Golden Legend*. In two parts. †
27. Thoreau's *Succession of Forest Trees, Wild Apples, and Sounds*. With a Biographical Sketch by R. W. EMERSON.
28. John Burroughs's *Birds and Bees*.**
29. Hawthorne's *Little Daffydowndilly*, and Other Stories.**
30. Lowell's *Vision of Sir Launfal*, and Other Poems.* †† **
31. Holmes's *My Hunt after the Captain*, and Other Papers.**
32. Abraham Lincoln's *Gettysburg Speech*, and Other Papers.**
- 33, 34, 35. Longfellow's *Tales of a Wayside Inn*. In three parts. ††
36. John Burroughs's *Sharp Eyes*, and Other Papers.**
37. Charles Dudley Warner's *A-Hunting of the Deer*, etc.*
38. Longfellow's *Building of the Ship*, and Other Poems.
39. Lowell's *Books and Libraries*, and Other Papers.**
40. Hawthorne's *Tales of the White Hills*, and Sketches.**
41. Whittier's *Tent on the Beach*, and Associated Poems.
42. Emerson's *Fortune of the Republic, American Scholar*, etc.**
43. *Ulysses among the Phæaciens*. From BRYANT'S *Odyssey*.*
44. Edgeworth's *Waste Not, Want Not*; and *The Barring Out*.
45. Macaulay's *Lays of Ancient Rome*.*
46. *Old Testament Stories in Scripture Language*.
- 47, 48. *Fables and Folk Stories*. In two parts. †
- 49, 50. Hans Andersen's *Stories*. In two parts. †
- 51, 52. Washington Irving: *Essays from the Sketch-Book*. [51.] *Rip Van Winkle*, etc. [52.] *The Voyage*, etc. In two parts. †
53. Scott's *Lady of the Lake*. Edited by ROLFE. (*Double No.*, 36 cents.) Also, in *Rolfe's Students' Series, cloth, to Teachers*, 53 cents.
54. Bryant's *Sella, Thanatopsis*, and Other Poems.*
55. Shakespeare's *Merchant of Venice*. THURBER.***
56. Webster's *First Bunker Hill Oration*, and the *Oration on Adams and Jefferson*.
57. Dickens's *Christmas Carol*.**
58. Dickens's *Cricket on the Hearth*.**
59. *Verse and Prose for Beginners in Reading*.*
- 60, 61. *The Sir Roger de Coverley Papers*. In two parts. †
62. John Fiske's *War of Independence*.§

Also, bound in linen: * 25 cents. ** 4 and 5 in one vol., 40 cents; likewise 6 and 31, 11 and 63, 28 and 36, 29 and 10, 30 and 15, 39 and 123, 40 and 69, 55 and 67, 57 and 58, 113 and 42, 133 and 32. † Also in one vol., 40 cents. †† 1, 4, and 30 also in one vol., 50 cents; likewise 7, 8, and 9; 33, 34, and 35. § Double Number, 30 cents; linen, 40 cents

The Riverside Literature Series

**THE BUNKER, HILL MONUMENT
ADAMS AND JEFFERSON**

Two Orations

BY

DANIEL WEBSTER

**WITH A BIOGRAPHICAL SKETCH
AND BRIEF NOTES**



HOUGHTON, MIFFLIN AND COMPANY
Boston: 4 Park Street; New York: 11 East Seventeenth Street
Chicago: 378-388 Wabash Avenue
The Riverside Press, Cambridge

186.1.13

US 5023.37.5

CONTENTS.

	PAGE
BIOGRAPHICAL SKETCH	3
THE BUNKER HILL MONUMENT	7
ADAMS AND JEFFERSON	37

The Introductions to the two Orationes, and some of the notes, as well as the text of the Orationes, are taken, by the courteous permission of the publishers, from the edition of the Works of Daniel Webster, issued in six volumes, in 1851, by Little, Brown & Co., Boston.

HARVARD COLLEGE LIBRARY
FROM THE LIBRARY OF
THOMAS HALL
OF CAMBRIDGE
JAN. 22, 1912

Copyright, 1893,
By HOUGHTON, MIFFLIN & CO.

All rights reserved.

The Riverside Press, Cambridge, Mass., U. S. A.
Electrotyped and Printed by H. O. Houghton & Company.

DANIEL WEBSTER.

BIOGRAPHICAL SKETCH.

"IN the last year of the Revolutionary War, on the 18th of January, 1782, Daniel Webster was born, in the home which his father had established on the outskirts of civilization.¹ If the character and situation of the place, and the circumstances under which he passed the first years of his life, might seem adverse to the early cultivation of his extraordinary talent, it still cannot be doubted that they possessed influences favorable to elevation and strength of character. The hardships of an infant settlement and border life, the traditions of a long series of Indian wars, and of two mighty national contests, in which an honored parent had borne his part, the anecdotes of Fort William Henry, of Quebec, of Bennington, of West Point, of Wolfe and Stark and Washington, the great Iliad and Odyssey of American Independence, — this was the fireside entertainment of the long winter evenings of the secluded village home. . . .

"Something that was called a school was kept for two or three months in the winter, frequently by an itinerant, too often a pretender, claiming only to teach a little reading, writing, and ciphering, and wholly incompetent to give any valuable assistance to a clever youth in learning either.

"Such as the village school was, Mr. Webster enjoyed its advantages, if they could be called by that name. It was,

¹ Salisbury (now Franklin), N. H.

however, of a migratory character. When it was near his father's residence it was easy to attend; but it was sometimes in a distant part of the town, and sometimes in another town. . . . Poor as these opportunities of education were, they were bestowed on Mr. Webster more liberally than on his brothers. He showed a greater eagerness for learning; and he was thought of too frail a constitution for any robust pursuit. . . . It is probable that the best part of his education was derived from the judicious and experienced father, and the strong-minded, affectionate, and ambitious mother."¹

His attitude toward books is well shown by the following extract from his *Autobiography*: "I remember that my father brought home from some of the lower towns Pope's *Essay on Man*, published in a sort of pamphlet. I took it, and very soon could repeat it from beginning to end. We had so few books, that to read them once or twice was nothing. We thought they were all to be got by heart."

In 1796 Webster went to Exeter Academy, but poverty at home caused his withdrawal in February, 1797. He then studied in the neighboring town of Boscawen, under the Rev. Samuel Wood, whose entire charge for board and instruction was \$1.00 a week. In 1797 he entered Dartmouth College, where he was graduated in 1801, after four years of hard and telling work; his winter vacations were spent in teaching school.

Webster next studied law, but the need of money by himself and his brother Ezekiel compelled him to accept an offer to take charge of an academy at Fryeburg, Maine, at a salary of about a dollar a day; he supported himself by copying deeds, and thus was able to save all his salary as a fund for the further education of himself and his brother.

¹ See *Biographical Memoir*, by Edward Everett. From this Memoir, and from Lodge's *Life of Webster*, in the American Statesmen Series, most of the material of this sketch has been taken.

He resumed the study of law in September, 1802, and in the spring of 1805 was admitted to the bar at Boston. He opened an office at Boscawen, N. H., but in September, 1807, moved to Portsmouth, where he at once rose to the head of his profession, and for nine successive years had a large though not very lucrative practice.

In 1808 he was married to Miss Grace Fletcher of Hopkinton, N. H.

In November, 1812, he was elected a member of the National House of Representatives, where his great talents were at once recognized; he was reëlected in 1814. From 1823 until his death in 1852, with the exception of about two years, he was constantly in public life, as congressman, senator, and secretary of state.

In 1816 he moved to Boston, and soon took a commanding position in his profession of the law. He had a choice of the best business of the whole country. He distinguished himself especially in the realm of Constitutional Law, by which the rights of States and individuals under the Constitution were defined. In 1818 he argued the famous Dartmouth College case, and secured a decision declaring unconstitutional, on the ground of impairing the obligation of a contract, an act of the New Hampshire Legislature altering the charter of the college. He was thereafter retained in almost every important case argued before the Supreme Court at Washington.

On December 22, 1820, the two hundredth anniversary of the landing of the Pilgrims, he delivered his famous *Plymouth Oration*, the first of a series of noble, patriotic addresses which showed him to be the greatest orator America ever produced. On June 17, 1825, he delivered an oration at the laying of the corner-stone of the Bunker Hill Monument, and on August 2, 1826, his eulogy on the Ex-Presidents John Adams and Thomas Jefferson, who died within a few hours of each other, on July 4, 1826, the fiftieth anniversary of the Declaration of Independence. In

1830, he made, in the United States Senate, his celebrated *Reply to Hayne*, in which he repelled insinuations against New England, and argued against the right of nullification.

In 1850 he delivered in the Senate Chamber, at Washington, what is known as his *Seventh of March Speech*. Henry Cabot Lodge says, in his *Life of Webster*, that at this time Webster's place was at the head of a new party based on the principles which he had himself formulated against the extension of slavery; that he did not change his party, and therefore had to change his opinions. In the *Seventh of March Speech*, he spoke in favor of enforcing the Fugitive Slave Law, and against the Wilmot Proviso, by which slavery was to be excluded from all territory thereafter acquired. He depicted at length the grievances of the South, and said but little about those of the North. Mr. George T. Curtis, in his Biography, says that a great majority of Webster's constituents, if not of the whole North, disapproved of this speech. The judgment of many was summed up in Whittier's great poem, *Ichabod*. In connection with this should be read the same poet's verses, *The Lost Occasion*. Both of these poems refer to Webster.

Webster as an orator had no equal, and as a lawyer no superior. His reputation as a statesman, though for the most part grand and glorious, was, in the eyes of many, dimmed by his change of base on the slavery question. His personal appearance was very remarkable; he had a swarthy complexion and straight black hair; his head was large and of noble shape, with a broad and lofty brow; his features were finely cut and full of massive strength, and his eyes were dark and deep set. Mr. Lodge says, "There is no man in all history who came into the world so equipped physically for speech."

Webster died at Marshfield, Mass., October 24, 1852, while holding the office of secretary of state under President Fillmore.

THE BUNKER HILL MONUMENT.

AN ADDRESS DELIVERED AT THE LAYING OF THE CORNER-STONE OF THE BUNKER HILL MONUMENT AT CHARLESTOWN, MASS., ON THE 17TH OF JUNE, 1825.

[As early as 1776, some steps were taken toward the commemoration of the Battle of Bunker Hill and the fall of General Warren, who was buried upon the hill the day after the action. The Massachusetts Lodge of Masons, over which Warren had presided, applied to the provisional government of Massachusetts for permission to take up his remains and to bury them with the usual solemnities. The council granted this request, on condition that it should be carried into effect in such a manner that the government of *the Colony* might have an opportunity to erect a monument to his memory. A funeral procession was had, and a eulogy on General Warren was delivered by Perez Morton, but no measures were taken toward building a monument.

A resolution was adopted by the Congress of the United States on the 8th of April, 1777, directing that monuments should be erected to the memory of General Warren, in Boston, and of General Mercer, at Fredericksburg; but this resolution has remained to the present time unexecuted.

On the 11th of November, 1794, a committee was appointed by King Solomon's Lodge, at Charlestown,¹ to take measures for the erection of a monument to the memory of General Joseph Warren, at the expense of the lodge. This resolution was promptly carried into effect. The land for

¹ General Warren, at the time of his decease, was Grand Master of the Masonic Lodges in America.

this purpose was presented to the lodge by the Hon. James Russell, of Charlestown, and it was dedicated with appropriate ceremonies on the 2d of December, 1794. It was a wooden pillar of the Tuscan order, eighteen feet in height, raised on a pedestal eight feet square, and of an elevation of ten feet from the ground. The pillar was surmounted by a gilt urn. An appropriate inscription was placed on the south side of the pedestal.

In February, 1818, a committee of the legislature of Massachusetts was appointed to consider the expediency of building a monument of American marble to the memory of General Warren, but this proposal was not carried into effect.

As the half-century from the date of the battle drew toward a close, a stronger feeling of the duty of commemorating it began to be awakened in the community. Among those who from the first manifested the greatest interest in the subject was the late William Tudor, Esq. He expressed the wish, in a letter still preserved, to see upon the battleground "the noblest monument in the world," and he was so ardent and persevering in urging the project, that it has been stated that he first conceived the idea of it. The steps taken in execution of the project, from the earliest private conferences among the gentlemen first engaged in it to its final completion, are accurately sketched by Mr. Richard Frothingham, Jr., in his valuable *History of the Siege of Boston*. All the material facts contained in this note are derived from his chapter on the Bunker Hill Monument. After giving an account of the organization of the society, the measures adopted for the collection of funds, and the deliberations on the form of the monument, Mr. Frothingham proceeds as follows : —

"It was at this stage of the enterprise that the directors proposed to lay the corner-stone of the monument, and ground was broken (June 7th) for this purpose. As a mark of respect to the liberality and patriotism of King

Solomon's Lodge, they invited the Grand Master of the Grand Lodge of Massachusetts to perform the ceremony. They also invited General Lafayette to accompany the President of the Association, Hon. Daniel Webster, and assist in it.

"This celebration was unequalled in magnificence by anything of the kind that had been seen in New England. The morning proved propitious. The air was cool, the sky was clear, and timely showers the previous day had brightened the vesture of nature into its loveliest hue. Delighted thousands flocked into Boston to bear a part in the proceedings, or to witness the spectacle. At about ten o'clock a procession moved from the State House towards Bunker Hill. The military, in their fine uniforms, formed the van. About two hundred veterans of the Revolution, of whom forty were survivors of the battle, rode in barouches next to the escort. These venerable men, the relics of a past generation, with emaciated frames, tottering limbs, and trembling voices, constituted a touching spectacle. Some wore, as honorable decorations, their old fighting equipments, and some bore the scars of still more honorable wounds. Glistening eyes constituted their answer to the enthusiastic cheers of the grateful multitudes who lined their pathway and cheered their progress. To this patriot band succeeded the Bunker Hill Monument Association. Then the Masonic fraternity, in their splendid regalia, thousands in number. Then Lafayette, continually welcomed by tokens of love and gratitude, and the invited guests. Then a long array of societies, with their various badges and banners. It was a splendid procession, and of such length that the front nearly reached Charlestown Bridge ere the rear had left Boston Common. It proceeded to Breed's Hill, where the Grand Master of the Freemasons, the President of the Monument Association, and General Lafayette performed the ceremony of laying the corner-stone, in the presence of a vast concourse of people."

The procession then moved to a spacious amphitheatre on the northern declivity of the hill, where the following address was delivered by Mr. Webster, in the presence of as great a multitude perhaps as was ever assembled within the sound of a human voice.]

THIS uncounted multitude before me and around me proves the feeling which the occasion has excited. These thousands of human faces, glowing with sympathy and joy, and from the impulses of a common gratitude turned reverently to heaven in this spacious temple of the firmament, proclaim that the day, the place, and the purpose of our assembling have made a deep impression on our hearts.

If, indeed, there be anything in local association fit to affect the mind of man, we need not strive to repress the emotions which agitate us here. We are among the sepulchres of our fathers. We are on ground distinguished by their valor, their constancy, and the shedding of their blood. We are here, not to fix an uncertain date in our annals, nor to draw into notice an obscure and unknown spot. If our humble purpose had never been conceived, if we ourselves had never been born, the 17th of June, 1775, would have been a day on which all subsequent history would have poured its light, and the eminence where we stand a point of attraction to the eyes of successive generations. But we are Americans. We live in what may be called the early age of this great continent; and we know that our posterity, through all time, are here to enjoy and suffer the allotments of humanity. We see before us a probable train of great events; we know that our own fortunes have been happily cast; and it is natural, therefore, that

we should be moved by the contemplation of occurrences which have guided our destiny before many of us were born, and settled the condition in which we should pass that portion of our existence which God allows to men on earth.

We do not read even of the discovery of this continent, without feeling something of a personal interest in the event; without being reminded how much it has affected our own fortunes and our own existence. It would be still more unnatural for us, therefore, than for others, to contemplate with unaffected minds that interesting, I may say that most touching and pathetic scene, when the great discoverer of America stood on the deck of his shattered bark, the shades of night falling on the sea, yet no man sleeping; tossed on the billows of an unknown ocean, yet the stronger billows of alternate hope and despair tossing his own troubled thoughts; extending forward his harassed frame, straining westward his anxious and eager eyes, till Heaven at last granted him a moment of rapture and ecstasy, in blessing his vision with the sight of the unknown world.

Nearer to our times, more closely connected with our fates, and therefore still more interesting to our feelings and affections, is the settlement of our own country by colonists from England. We cherish every memorial of these worthy ancestors; we celebrate their patience and fortitude; we admire their daring enterprise; we teach our children to venerate their piety; and we are justly proud of being descended from men who have set the world an example of founding civil institutions on the great and united principles of human freedom and human knowledge. To us, their children, the story of their labors and sufferings can

never be without interest. We shall not stand unmoved on the shore of Plymouth, while the sea continues to wash it; nor will our brethren in another early and ancient Colony forget the place of its first establishment, till their river shall cease to flow by it.¹ No vigor of youth, no maturity of manhood, will lead the nation to forget the spots where its infancy was cradled and defended.

But the great event in the history of the continent, which we are now met here to commemorate, that prodigy of modern times, at once the wonder and the blessing of the world, is the American Revolution. In a day of extraordinary prosperity and happiness, of high national honor, distinction, and power, we are brought together, in this place, by our love of country, by our admiration of exalted character, by our gratitude for signal services and patriotic devotion.

The Society whose organ I am² was formed for the purpose of rearing some honorable and durable monument to the memory of the early friends of American Independence. They have thought that for this object no time could be more propitious than the present prosperous and peaceful period; that no place could

¹ An interesting account of the voyage of the early emigrants to the Maryland Colony, and of its settlement, is given in the official report of Father White, written probably within the first month after the landing at St. Mary's. The original Latin manuscript is still preserved among the archives of the Jesuits at Rome. The Ark and the Dove are remembered with scarcely less interest by the descendants of the sister colony, than is the Mayflower in New England, which thirteen years earlier, at the same season of the year, bore thither the Pilgrim Fathers.

² Mr. Webster was at this time President of the Bunker Hill Monument Association, chosen on the death of Governor John Brooks, the first President.

claim preference over this memorable spot; and that no day could be more auspicious to the undertaking, than the anniversary of the battle which was here fought. The foundation of that monument we have now laid. With solemnities suited to the occasion, with prayers to Almighty God for his blessing, and in the midst of this cloud of witnesses, we have begun the work. We trust it will be prosecuted, and that, springing from a broad foundation, rising high in massive solidity and unadorned grandeur, it may remain as long as Heaven permits the works of man to last, a fit emblem, both of the events in memory of which it is raised, and of the gratitude of those who have reared it.

We know, indeed, that the record of illustrious actions is most safely deposited in the universal remembrance of mankind. We know, that if we could cause this structure to ascend, not only till it reached the skies, but till it pierced them, its broad surfaces could still contain but part of that which, in an age of knowledge, hath already been spread over the earth, and which history charges itself with making known to all future times. We know that no inscription on entablatures less broad than the earth itself can carry information of the events we commemorate where it has not already gone; and that no structure, which shall not outlive the duration of letters and knowledge among men, can prolong the memorial. But our object is, by this edifice, to show our own deep sense of the value and importance of the achievements of our ancestors; and, by presenting this work of gratitude to the eye, to keep alive similar sentiments, and to foster a constant regard for the principles of the Revolution. Human beings are composed, not of reason

only, but of imagination also, and sentiment; and that is neither wasted nor misapplied which is appropriated to the purpose of giving right direction to sentiments, and opening proper springs of feeling in the heart. Let it not be supposed that our object is to perpetuate national hostility, or even to cherish a mere military spirit. It is higher, purer, nobler. We consecrate our work to the spirit of national independence, and we wish that the light of peace may rest upon it for ever. We rear a memorial of our conviction of that unmeasured benefit which has been conferred on our own land, and of the happy influences which have been produced, by the same events, on the general interests of mankind. We come, as Americans, to mark a spot which must forever be dear to us and our posterity. We wish that whosoever, in all coming time, shall turn his eye hither, may behold that the place is not undistinguished where the first great battle of the Revolution was fought. We wish that this structure may proclaim the magnitude and importance of that event to every class and every age. We wish that infancy may learn the purpose of its erection from maternal lips, and that weary and withered age may behold it, and be solaced by the recollections which it suggests. We wish that labor may look up here, and be proud, in the midst of its toil. We wish that, in those days of disaster, which, as they come upon all nations, must be expected to come upon us also, desponding patriotism may turn its eyes hitherward, and be assured that the foundations of our national power are still strong. We wish that this column, rising towards heaven among the pointed spires of so many temples dedicated to God, may contribute also to produce, in all minds, a pious feeling

of dependence and gratitude. We wish, finally, that the last object to the sight of him who leaves his native shore, and the first to gladden him who revisits it, may be something which shall remind him of the liberty and the glory of his country. Let it rise! let it rise, till it meet the sun in his coming; let the earliest light of the morning gild it, and parting day linger and play on its summit.

We live in a most extraordinary age. Events so various and so important that they might crowd and distinguish centuries are, in our times, compressed within the compass of a single life. When has it happened that history has had so much to record, in the same term of years, as since the 17th of June, 1775? Our own revolution, which, under other circumstances, might itself have been expected to occasion a war of half a century, has been achieved; twenty-four sovereign and independent States erected; and a general government established over them, so safe, so wise, so free, so practical, that we might well wonder its establishment should have been accomplished so soon, were it not far the greater wonder that it should have been established at all. Two or three millions of people have been augmented to twelve, the great forests of the West prostrated beneath the arm of successful industry, and the dwellers on the banks of the Ohio and the Mississippi become the fellow-citizens and neighbors of those who cultivate the hills of New England.¹ We have a commerce

¹ That which was spoken of figuratively in 1825 has, in the lapse of a quarter of a century, by the introduction of railroads and telegraphic lines, become a reality. It is an interesting circumstance, that the first railroad on the Western Continent was constructed for the purpose of accelerating the erection of this monument. — *Edward Everett*, in 1851.

that leaves no sea unexplored ; navies which take no law from superior force ; revenues adequate to all the exigencies of government, almost without taxation ; and peace with all nations, founded on equal rights and mutual respect.

Europe, within the same period, has been agitated by a mighty revolution, which, while it has been felt in the individual condition and happiness of almost every man, has shaken to the centre her political fabric, and dashed against one another thrones which had stood tranquil for ages. On this, our continent, our own example has been followed, and colonies have sprung up to be nations. Unaccustomed sounds of liberty and free government have reached us from beyond the track of the sun ; and at this moment the dominion of European power in this continent, from the place where we stand to the south pole, is annihilated for ever.¹

In the mean time, both in Europe and America, such has been the general progress of knowledge, such the improvement in legislation, in commerce, in the arts, in letters, and, above all, in liberal ideas and the general spirit of the age, that the whole world seems changed.

Yet, notwithstanding that this is but a faint abstract of the things which have happened since the day of the battle of Bunker Hill, we are but fifty years removed from it ; and we now stand here to enjoy all the blessings of our own condition, and to look abroad on the brightened prospects of the world, while we still have among us some of those who were active agents in the scenes of 1775, and who are now here,

¹ This has special reference to the Monroe Doctrine, then fresh in the minds of Mr. Webster and his hearers.

from every quarter of New England, to visit once more, and under circumstances so affecting, I had almost said so overwhelming, this renowned theatre of their courage and patriotism.

VENERABLE MEN ! you have come down to us from a former generation. Heaven has bounteously lengthened out your lives, that you might behold this joyous day. You are now where you stood fifty years ago, this very hour, with your brothers and your neighbors, shoulder to shoulder, in the strife for your country. Behold, how altered ! The same heavens are indeed over your heads ; the same ocean rolls at your feet ; but all else how changed ! You hear now no roar of hostile cannon, you see no mixed volumes of smoke and flame rising from burning Charlestown. The ground strewn with the dead and the dying ; the impetuous charge ; the steady and successful repulse ; the loud call to repeated assault ; the summoning of all that is manly to repeated resistance ; a thousand bosoms freely and fearlessly bared in an instant to whatever of terror there may be in war and death ; — all these you have witnessed, but you witness them no more. All is peace. The heights of yonder metropolis, its towers and roofs, which you then saw filled with wives and children and countrymen in distress and terror, and looking with unutterable emotions for the issue of the combat, have presented you to-day with the sight of its whole happy population, come out to welcome and greet you with a universal jubilee. Yonder proud ships, by a felicity of position appropriately lying at the foot of this mount, and seeming fondly to cling around it, are not means of annoyance to you, but your country's own means of distinction and

defence.¹ All is peace; and God has granted you this sight of your country's happiness, ere you slumber in the grave. He has allowed you to behold and to partake the reward of your patriotic toils; and he has allowed us, your sons and countrymen, to meet you here, and in the name of the present generation, in the name of your country, in the name of liberty, to thank you!

But, alas! you are not all here! Time and the sword have thinned your ranks. Prescott, Putnam, Stark, Brooks, Read, Pomeroy, Bridge! our eyes seek for you in vain amid this broken band. You are gathered to your fathers, and live only to your country in her grateful remembrance and your own bright example. But let us not too much grieve, that you have met the common fate of men. You lived at least long enough to know that your work had been nobly and successfully accomplished. You lived to see your country's independence established, and to sheathe your swords from war. On the light of Liberty you saw arise the light of Peace, like

"another morn,
Risen on mid-noon;"

and the sky on which you closed your eyes was cloudless.

But, ah! Him! the first great martyr in this great cause! Him! the premature victim of his own self-devoting heart! Him! the head of our civil councils, and the destined leader of our military bands, whom nothing brought hither but the unquenchable fire of his own spirit! Him! cut off by Providence in the

¹ It is necessary to inform those only who are unacquainted with the localities, that the United States Navy Yard at Charlestown is situated at the base of Bunker Hill.

hour of overwhelming anxiety and thick gloom ; falling ere he saw the star of his country rise ; pouring out his generous blood like water, before he knew whether it would fertilize a land of freedom or of bondage ! — how shall I struggle with the emotions that stifle the utterance of thy name !¹ Our poor work may perish ; but thine shall endure ! This monument may moulder away ; the solid ground it rests upon may sink down to a level with the sea ; but thy memory shall not fail ! Wheresoever among men a heart shall be found that beats to the transports of patriotism and liberty, its aspirations shall be to claim kindred with thy spirit.

But the scene amidst which we stand does not permit us to confine our thoughts or our sympathies to those fearless spirits who hazarded or lost their lives on this consecrated spot. We have the happiness to rejoice here in the presence of a most worthy representation of the survivors of the whole Revolutionary army.

VETERANS ! you are the remnant of many a well-fought field. You bring with you marks of honor from Trenton and Monmouth, from Yorktown, Camden, Bennington, and Saratoga. VETERANS OF HALF A CENTURY ! when in your youthful days you put every thing at hazard in your country's cause, good as that cause was, and sanguine as youth is, still your fondest hopes did not stretch onward to an hour like this ! At a period to which you could not reasonably have expected to arrive, at a moment of national prosperity such as you could never have foreseen, you are now met here to enjoy the fellowship of old soldiers, and to receive the overflowings of a universal gratitude.

¹ The name of Joseph Warren was very dear to Americans of Webster's day.

But your agitated countenances and your heaving breasts inform me that even this is not an unmixed joy. I perceive that a tumult of contending feelings rushes upon you. The images of the dead, as well as the persons of the living, present themselves before you. The scene overwhelms you, and I turn from it. May the Father of all mercies smile upon your declining years, and bless them ! And when you shall here have exchanged your embraces, when you shall once more have pressed the hands which have been so often extended to give succor in adversity, or grasped in the exultation of victory, then look abroad upon this lovely land which your young valor defended, and mark the happiness with which it is filled ; yea, look abroad upon the whole earth, and see what a name you have contributed to give to your country, and what a praise you have added to freedom, and then rejoice in the sympathy and gratitude which beam upon your last days from the improved condition of mankind !

The occasion does not require of me any particular account of the battle of the 17th of June, 1775, nor any detailed narrative of the events which immediately preceded it. These are familiarly known to all. In the progress of the great and interesting controversy, Massachusetts and the town of Boston had become early and marked objects of the displeasure of the British Parliament. This had been manifested in the act for altering the government of the Province, and in that for shutting up the port of Boston. Nothing sheds more honor on our early history, and nothing better shows how little the feelings and sentiments of the Colonies were known or regarded in England, than the impression which these measures everywhere produced in America. It had been anti-

cipated, that while the Colonies in general would be terrified by the severity of the punishment inflicted on Massachusetts, the other seaports would be governed by a mere spirit of gain; and that, as Boston was now cut off from all commerce, the unexpected advantage which this blow on her was calculated to confer on other towns would be greedily enjoyed. How miserably such reasoners deceived themselves! How little they knew of the depth, and the strength, and the intenseness of that feeling of resistance to illegal acts of power, which possessed the whole American people! Everywhere the unworthy boon was rejected with scorn. The fortunate occasion was seized, everywhere, to show to the whole world that the Colonies were swayed by no local interest, no partial interest, no selfish interest. The temptation to profit by the punishment of Boston was strongest to our neighbors of Salem. Yet Salem was precisely the place where this miserable proffer was spurned, in a tone of the most lofty self-respect and the most indignant patriotism. "We are deeply affected," said its inhabitants, "with the sense of our public calamities; but the miseries that are now rapidly hastening on our brethren in the capital of the Province greatly excite our commiseration. By shutting up the port of Boston some imagine that the course of trade might be turned hither and to our benefit; but we must be dead to every idea of justice, lost to all feelings of humanity, could we indulge a thought to seize on wealth and raise our fortunes on the ruin of our suffering neighbors." These noble sentiments were not confined to our immediate vicinity. In that day of general affection and brotherhood, the blow given to Boston smote on every patriotic heart from one

end of the country to the other. Virginia and the Carolinas, as well as Connecticut and New Hampshire, felt and proclaimed the cause to be their own. The Continental Congress, then holding its first session in Philadelphia, expressed its sympathy for the suffering inhabitants of Boston, and addresses were received from all quarters, assuring them that the cause was a common one, and should be met by common efforts and common sacrifices. The Congress of Massachusetts responded to these assurances ; and in an address to the Congress at Philadelphia, bearing the official signature, perhaps among the last, of the immortal Warren, notwithstanding the severity of its suffering and the magnitude of the dangers which threatened it, it was declared that this Colony "is ready, at all times, to spend and to be spent in the cause of America."

But the hour drew nigh which was to put professions to the proof, and to determine whether the authors of these mutual pledges were ready to seal them in blood. The tidings of Lexington and Concord had no sooner spread, than it was universally felt that the time was at last come for action. A spirit pervaded all ranks, not transient, not boisterous, but deep, solemn, determined, —

*"Totamque infusa per artus
Mens agitat molem, et magno se corpore miscet."*¹

War on their own soil and at their own doors, was, indeed, a strange work to the yeomanry of New England ; but their consciences were convinced of its necessity, their country called them to it, and they did not withhold themselves from the perilous trial. The

¹ "And a Mind, diffused throughout the members, gives energy to the whole mass, and mingles with the vast body."

ordinary occupations of life were abandoned ; the plough was stayed in the unfinished furrow ; wives gave up their husbands, and mothers gave up their sons, to the battles of a civil war. Death might come in honor, on the field ; it might come, in disgrace, on the scaffold. For either and for both they were prepared. The sentiment of Quincy was full in their hearts. "Blandishments," said that distinguished son of genius and patriotism, "will not fascinate us, nor will threats of a halter intimidate ; for, under God, we are determined, that, wheresoever, whensoever, or howsoever, we shall be called to make our exit, we will die free men."

The 17th of June saw the four New England Colonies standing here, side by side, to triumph or to fall together ; and there was with them from that moment to the end of the war, what I hope will remain with them for ever, — one cause, one country, one heart.

The battle of Bunker Hill was attended with the most important effects beyond its immediate results as a military engagement. It created at once a state of open, public war. There could now be no longer a question of proceeding against individuals, as guilty of treason or rebellion. That fearful crisis was past. The appeal lay to the sword, and the only question was, whether the spirit and the resources of the people would hold out till the object should be accomplished. Nor were its general consequences confined to our own country. The previous proceedings of the Colonies, their appeals, resolutions, and addresses, had made their cause known to Europe. Without boasting, we may say, that in no age or country has the public cause been maintained with more force of argument, more power of illustration, or more of that persuasion

which excited feeling and elevated principle can alone bestow, than the Revolutionary state papers exhibit. These papers will forever deserve to be studied, not only for the spirit which they breathe, but for the ability with which they were written.

To this able vindication of their cause, the Colonies had now added a practical and severe proof of their own true devotion to it, and given evidence also of the power which they could bring to its support. All now saw, that if America fell, she would not fall without a struggle. Men felt sympathy and regard, as well as surprise, when they beheld these infant states, remote, unknown, unaided, encounter the power of England, and, in the first considerable battle, leave more of their enemies dead on the field, in proportion to the number of combatants, than had been recently known to fall in the wars of Europe.

Information of these events, circulating throughout the world, at length reached the ears of one who now hears me.¹ He has not forgotten the emotion which the fame of Bunker Hill, and the name of Warren, excited in his youthful breast.

Sir, we are assembled to commemorate the establishment of great public principles of liberty, and to do honor to the distinguished dead. The occasion is too severe for eulogy of the living. But, Sir, your interesting relation to this country, the peculiar circumstances which surround you and surround us, call on me to express the happiness which we derive from your presence and aid in this solemn commemoration.

¹ Among the earliest of the arrangements for the celebration of the 17th of June, 1825, was the invitation to General Lafayette to be present ; and he had so timed his progress through the other States as to return to Massachusetts in season for the great occasion.

Fortunate, fortunate man! with what measure of devotion will you not thank God for the circumstances of your extraordinary life! You are connected with both hemispheres and with two generations. Heaven saw fit to ordain that the electric spark of liberty should be conducted, through you, from the New World to the Old; and we, who are now here to perform this duty of patriotism, have all of us long ago received it in charge from our fathers to cherish your name and your virtues. You will account it an instance of your good fortune, Sir, that you crossed the seas to visit us at a time which enables you to be present at this solemnity. You now behold the field, the renown of which reached you in the heart of France, and caused a thrill in your ardent bosom. You see the lines of the little redoubt thrown up by the incredible diligence of Prescott; defended, to the last extremity, by his lion-hearted valor; and within which the corner-stone of our monument has now taken its position. You see where Warren fell, and where Parker, Gardner, McCleary, Moore, and other early patriots fell with him. Those who survived that day, and whose lives have been prolonged to the present hour, are now around you. Some of them you have known in the trying scenes of the war. Behold! they now stretch forth their feeble arms to embrace you. Behold! they raise their trembling voices to invoke the blessing of God on you and yours forever.

Sir, you have assisted us in laying the foundation of this structure. You have heard us rehearse, with our feeble commendation, the names of departed patriots. Monuments and eulogy belong to the dead. We give then this day to Warren and his associates. On other occasions they have been given to your more

immediate companions in arms, to Washington, to Greene, to Gates, to Sullivan, and to Lincoln. We have become reluctant to grant these, our highest and last honors, further. We would gladly hold them yet back from the little remnant of that immortal band. "*Serus in coelum redeas.*"¹ Illustrious as are your merits, yet far, O, very far distant be the day, when any inscription shall bear your name, or any tongue pronounce its eulogy!

The leading reflection to which this occasion seems to invite us, respects the great changes which have happened in the fifty years since the battle of Bunker Hill was fought. And it peculiarly marks the character of the present age, that, in looking at these changes, and in estimating their effect on our condition, we are obliged to consider, not what has been done in our country only, but in others also. In these interesting times, while nations are making separate and individual advances in improvement, they make, too, a common progress; like vessels on a common tide, propelled by the gales at different rates, according to their several structure and management, but all moved forward by one mighty current, strong enough to bear onward whatever does not sink beneath it.

A chief distinction of the present day is a community of opinions and knowledge amongst men in different nations, existing in a degree heretofore unknown. Knowledge has, in our time, triumphed, and is triumphing, over distance, over difference of languages, over diversity of habits, over prejudice, and over bigotry. The civilized and Christian world is fast learning the great lesson, that difference of nation does not imply necessary hostility, and that all contact need not

¹ "Late may you return to heaven."

be war. The whole world is becoming a common field for intellect to act in. Energy of mind, genius, power, wheresoever it exists, may speak out in any tongue, and the world will hear it. A great chord of sentiment and feeling runs through two continents, and vibrates over both. Every breeze wafts intelligence from country to country, every wave rolls it; all give it forth, and all in turn receive it. There is a vast commerce of ideas; there are marts and exchanges for intellectual discoveries, and a wonderful fellowship of those individual intelligences which make up the mind and opinion of the age. Mind is the great lever of all things; human thought is the process by which human ends are ultimately answered; and the diffusion of knowledge, so astonishing in the last half-century, has rendered innumerable minds, variously gifted by nature, competent to be competitors or fellow-workers on the theatre of intellectual operation.

From these causes important improvements have taken place in the personal condition of individuals. Generally speaking, mankind are not only better fed and better clothed, but they are able also to enjoy more leisure; they possess more refinement and more self-respect. A superior tone of education, manners, and habits prevails. This remark, most true in its application to our own country, is also partly true when applied elsewhere. It is proved by the vastly augmented consumption of those articles of manufacture and of commerce which contribute to the comforts and the decencies of life; an augmentation which has far outrun the progress of population. And while the unexampled and almost incredible use of machinery would seem to supply the place of labor, labor still finds its occupation and its reward; so wisely has

Providence adjusted men's wants and desires to their condition and their capacity.

Any adequate survey, however, of the progress made during the last half-century in the polite and the mechanic arts, in machinery and manufactures, in commerce and agriculture, in letters and in science, would require volumes. I must abstain wholly from these subjects, and turn for a moment to the contemplation of what has been done on the great question of politics and government. This is the master topic of the age; and during the whole fifty years it has intensely occupied the thoughts of men. The nature of civil government, its ends and uses, have been canvassed and investigated; ancient opinions attacked and defended; new ideas recommended and resisted, by whatever power the mind of man could bring to the controversy. From the closet and the public halls the debate has been transferred to the field; and the world has been shaken by wars of unexampled magnitude, and the greatest variety of fortune. A day of peace has at length succeeded; and now that the strife has subsided, and the smoke cleared away, we may begin to see what has actually been done, permanently changing the state and condition of human society. And, without dwelling on particular circumstances, it is most apparent, that, from the before-mentioned causes of augmented knowledge and improved individual condition, a real, substantial, and important change has taken place, and is taking place, highly favorable, on the whole, to human liberty and human happiness.

The great wheel of political revolution began to move in America. Here its rotation was guarded, regular, and safe. Transferred to the other continent,

from unfortunate but natural causes, it received an irregular and violent impulse ; it whirled along with a fearful celerity ; till at length, like the chariot-wheels in the races of antiquity, it took fire from the rapidity of its own motion, and blazed onward, spreading conflagration and terror around.

We learn from the result of this experiment, how fortunate was our own condition, and how admirably the character of our people was calculated for setting the great example of popular governments. The possession of power did not turn the heads of the American people, for they had long been in the habit of exercising a great degree of self-control. Although the paramount authority of the parent state existed over them, yet a large field of legislation had always been open to our Colonial assemblies. They were accustomed to representative bodies and the forms of free government ; they understood the doctrine of the division of power among different branches, and the necessity of checks on each. The character of our countrymen, moreover, was sober, moral, and religious ; and there was little in the change to shock their feelings of justice and humanity, or even to disturb an honest prejudice. We had no domestic throne to overturn, no privileged orders to cast down, no violent changes of property to encounter. In the American Revolution, no man sought or wished for more than to defend and enjoy his own. None hoped for plunder or for spoil. Rapacity was unknown to it ; the axe was not among the instruments of its accomplishment ; and we all know that it could not have lived a single day under any well-founded imputation of possessing a tendency adverse to the Christian religion.

It need not surprise us, that, under circumstances

less auspicious, political revolutions elsewhere, even when well intended, have terminated differently. It is, indeed, a great achievement, it is the masterwork of the world, to establish governments entirely popular on lasting foundations ; nor is it easy, indeed, to introduce the popular principle at all into governments to which it has been altogether a stranger. It cannot be doubted, however, that Europe has come out of the contest, in which she has been so long engaged, with greatly superior knowledge, and, in many respects, in a highly improved condition. Whatever benefit has been acquired is likely to be retained, for it consists mainly in the acquisition of more enlightened ideas. And although kingdoms and provinces may be wrested from the hands that hold them, in the same manner they were obtained ; although ordinary and vulgar power may, in human affairs, be lost as it has been won ; yet it is the glorious prerogative of the empire of knowledge, that what it gains it never loses. On the contrary, it increases by the multiple of its own power ; all its ends become means ; all its attainments, helps to new conquests. Its whole abundant harvest is but so much seed wheat, and nothing has limited, and nothing can limit, the amount of ultimate product.

Under the influence of this rapidly increasing knowledge, the people have begun, in all forms of government, to think, and to reason, on affairs of state. Regarding government as an institution for the public good, they demand a knowledge of its operations, and a participation in its exercise. A call for the representative system, wherever it is not enjoyed, and where there is already intelligence enough to estimate its value, is perseveringly made. Where men may speak

out, they demand it; where the bayonet is at their throats, they pray for it.

When Louis the Fourteenth said, "I am the State," he expressed the essence of the doctrine of unlimited power. By the rules of that system, the people are disconnected from the state; they are its subjects, it is their lord. These ideas, founded in the love of power, and long supported by the excess and the abuse of it, are yielding, in our age, to other opinions; and the civilized world seems at last to be proceeding to the conviction of that fundamental and manifest truth, that the powers of government are but a trust, and that they cannot be lawfully exercised but for the good of the community. As knowledge is more and more extended, this conviction becomes more and more general. Knowledge, in truth, is the great sun in the firmament. Life and power are scattered with all its beams. The prayer of the Grecian champion, when enveloped in unnatural clouds and darkness, is the appropriate political supplication for the people of every country not yet blessed with free institutions: —

"Dispel this cloud, the light of heaven restore,
Give me TO SEE, — and Ajax asks no more."

We may hope that the growing influence of enlightened sentiment will promote the permanent peace of the world. Wars to maintain family alliances, to uphold or to cast down dynasties, and to regulate successions to thrones, which have occupied so much room in the history of modern times, if not less likely to happen at all, will be less likely to become general and involve many nations, as the great principle shall be more and more established, that the interest of the world is peace, and its first great statute, that every nation possesses the power of establishing a govern-

ment for itself. But public opinion has attained also an influence over governments which do not admit the popular principle into their organization. A necessary respect for the judgment of the world operates, in some measure, as a control over the most unlimited forms of authority. It is owing, perhaps, to this truth, that the interesting struggle of the Greeks has been suffered to go on so long, without a direct interference, either to wrest that country from its present masters, or to execute the system of pacification by force; and, with united strength, lay the neck of Christian and civilized Greek at the foot of the barbarian Turk. Let us thank God that we live in an age when something has influence besides the bayonet, and when the sternest authority does not venture to encounter the scorching power of public reproach. Any attempt of the kind I have mentioned should be met by one universal burst of indignation; the air of the civilized world ought to be made too warm to be comfortably breathed by any one who would hazard it.

It is, indeed, a touching reflection, that, while, in the fulness of our country's happiness, we rear this monument to her honor, we look for instruction in our undertaking to a country which is now in fearful contest, not for works of art or memorials of glory, but for her own existence. Let her be assured, that she is not forgotten in the world; that her efforts are applauded, and that constant prayers ascend for her success. And let us cherish a confident hope for her final triumph. If the true spark of religious and civil liberty be kindled, it will burn. Human agency cannot extinguish it. Like the earth's central fire, it may be smothered for a time; the ocean may overwhelm it; mountains may press it down; but its in-

herent and unconquerable force will heave both the ocean and the land, and at some time or other, in some place or other, the volcano will break out and flame up to heaven.

Among the great events of the half-century, we must reckon, certainly, the revolution of South America ; and we are not likely to overrate the importance of that revolution, either to the people of the country itself or to the rest of the world. The late Spanish colonies, now independent states, under circumstances less favorable, doubtless, than attended our own revolution, have yet successfully commenced their national existence. They have accomplished the great object of establishing their independence ; they are known and acknowledged in the world ; and although in regard to their systems of government, their sentiments on religious toleration, and their provision for public instruction, they may have yet much to learn, it must be admitted that they have risen to the condition of settled and established states more rapidly than could have been reasonably anticipated. They already furnish an exhilarating example of the difference between free governments and despotic misrule. Their commerce, at this moment, creates a new activity in all the great marts of the world. They show themselves able, by an exchange of commodities, to bear a useful part in the intercourse of nations.

A new spirit of enterprise and industry begins to prevail ; all the great interests of society receive a salutary impulse ; and the progress of information not only testifies to an improved condition, but itself constitutes the highest and most essential improvement.

When the battle of Bunker Hill was fought, the existence of South America was scarcely felt in the

civilized world. The thirteen little colonies of North America habitually called themselves the "continent." Borne down by colonial subjugation, monopoly, and bigotry, these vast regions of the South were hardly visible above the horizon. But in our day there has been, as it were, a new creation. The southern hemisphere emerges from the sea. Its lofty mountains begin to lift themselves into the light of heaven; its broad and fertile plains stretch out, in beauty, to the eye of civilized man, and at the mighty bidding of the voice of political liberty the waters of darkness retire.

And now, let us indulge an honest exultation in the conviction of the benefit which the example of our country has produced, and is likely to produce, on human freedom and human happiness. Let us endeavor to comprehend in all its magnitude, and to feel in all its importance, the part assigned to us in the great drama of human affairs. We are placed at the head of the system of representative and popular governments. Thus far our example shows that such governments are compatible, not only with respectability and power, but with repose, with peace, with security of personal rights, with good laws, and a just administration.

We are not propagandists. Wherever other systems are preferred, either as being thought better in themselves, or as better suited to existing conditions, we leave the preference to be enjoyed. Our history hitherto proves, however, that the popular form is practicable, and that with wisdom and knowledge men may govern themselves; and the duty incumbent on us is to preserve the consistency of this cheering example, and take care that nothing may weaken its authority with the world. If, in our case, the repre-

sentative system ultimately fail, popular governments must be pronounced impossible. No combination of circumstances more favorable to the experiment can ever be expected to occur. The last hopes of mankind, therefore, rest with us; and if it should be proclaimed, that our example had become an argument against the experiment, the knell of popular liberty would be sounded throughout the earth.

These are excitements to duty; but they are not suggestions of doubt. Our history and our condition, all that is gone before us, and all that surrounds us, authorize the belief, that popular governments, though subject to occasional variations, in form perhaps not always for the better, may yet, in their general character, be as durable and permanent as other systems. We know, indeed,* that in our country any other is impossible. The principle of free governments adheres to the American soil. It is bedded in it, immovable as its mountains.

And let the sacred obligations which have devolved on this generation, and on us, sink deep into our hearts. Those who established our liberty and our government are daily dropping from among us. The great trust now descends to new hands. Let us apply ourselves to that which is presented to us, as our appropriate object. We can win no laurels in a war for independence. Earlier and worthier hands have gathered them all. Nor are there places for us by the side of Solon, and Alfred, and other founders of states. Our fathers have filled them. But there remains to us a great duty of defence and preservation; and there is opened to us, also, a noble pursuit, to which the spirit of the times strongly invites us. Our proper business is improvement. Let our age be the age of

improvement. In a day of peace, let us advance the arts of peace and the works of peace. Let us develop the resources of our land, call forth its powers, build up its institutions, promote all its great interests, and see whether we also, in our day and generation, may not perform something worthy to be remembered. Let us cultivate a true spirit of union and harmony. In pursuing the great objects which our condition points out to us, let us act under a settled conviction, and an habitual feeling, that these twenty-four States are one country. Let our conceptions be enlarged to the circle of our duties. Let us extend our ideas over the whole of the vast field in which we are called to act. Let our object be, OUR COUNTRY, OUR WHOLE COUNTRY, AND NOTHING BUT OUR COUNTRY. And, by the blessing of God, may that country itself become a vast and splendid monument, not of oppression and terror, but of Wisdom, of Peace, and of Liberty, upon which the world may gaze with admiration forever!

ADAMS AND JEFFERSON.

A DISCOURSE IN COMMEMORATION OF THE LIVES AND SERVICES OF JOHN ADAMS AND THOMAS JEFFERSON, DELIVERED IN FANEUIL HALL, BOSTON, ON THE 2D OF AUGUST, 1826.

[SINCE the decease of General Washington, on the 14th of December, 1799, the public mind has never been so powerfully affected in this part of the country by any similar event, as by the death of John Adams, on the 4th of July, 1826. The news reached Boston in the evening of that day. The decease of this venerable fellow-citizen must at all times have appealed with much force to the patriotic sympathies of the people of Massachusetts. It acquired a singular interest from the year and the day on which it took place,—the 4th of July of the year completing the half century from that ever-memorable era in the history of the country and the world, the Declaration of Independence; a measure in which Mr. Adams himself had taken so distinguished a part. The emotions of the public were greatly increased by the indications given by Mr. Adams in his last hours, that he was fully aware that the day was the anniversary of Independence, and by his dying allusion to the supposed fact that his colleague, Jefferson, survived him. When, in the course of a few days, the news arrived from Virginia that he also had departed this life, on the same day and a few hours before Mr. Adams, the sensibility of the community, as of the country at large, was touched beyond all example. The occurrence was justly deemed without a parallel in history. The various circumstances of association and coincidence which marked

the characters and careers of these great men, and especially those of their simultaneous decease on the 4th of July, were dwelt upon with melancholy but untiring interest. The circles of private life, the press, public bodies, and the pulpit, were for some time almost engrossed with the topic; and solemn rites of commemoration were performed throughout the country.

An early day was appointed for this purpose by the City Council of Boston. The whole community manifested its sympathy in the extraordinary event; and on the 2d of August, 1826, at the request of the municipal authorities, and in the presence of an immense audience, the following discourse was delivered in Faneuil Hall.]

THIS is an unaccustomed spectacle. For the first time, fellow-citizens, badges of mourning shroud the columns and overhang the arches of this hall. These walls, which were consecrated, so long ago, to the cause of American liberty, which witnessed her infant struggles, and rung with the shouts of her earliest victories, proclaim, now, that distinguished friends and champions of that great cause have fallen. It is right that it should be thus. The tears which flow, and the honors that are paid, when the founders of the republic die, give hope that the republic itself may be immortal. It is fit that, by public assembly and solemn observance, by anthem and by eulogy, we commemorate the services of national benefactors, extol their virtues, and render thanks to God for eminent blessings, early given and long continued, through their agency, to our favored country.

Adams and Jefferson are no more; and we are assembled, fellow-citizens, the aged, the middle aged, and the young, by the spontaneous impulse of all, under the authority of the municipal government,

with the presence of the chief magistrate of the commonwealth, and others its official representatives, the university, and the learned societies, to bear our part in those manifestations of respect and gratitude which pervade the whole land. Adams and Jefferson are no more. On our fiftieth anniversary, the great day of national jubilee, in the very hour of public rejoicing, in the midst of echoing and reëchoing voices of thanksgiving, while their own names were on all tongues, they took their flight together to the world of spirits.

If it be true that no one can safely be pronounced happy while he lives, if that event which terminates life can alone crown its honors and its glory, what felicity is here! The great epic of their lives, how happily concluded! Poetry itself has hardly terminated illustrious lives, and finished the career of earthly renown, by such a consummation. If we had the power, we could not wish to reverse this dispensation of the Divine Providence. The great objects of life were accomplished, the drama was ready to be closed. It has closed; our patriots have fallen; but so fallen, at such age, with such coincidence, on such a day, that we cannot rationally lament that that end has come which we knew could not be long deferred.

Neither of these great men, fellow-citizens, could have died, at any time, without leaving an immense void in our American society. They have been so intimately, and for so long a time, blended with the history of the country, and especially so united, in our thoughts and recollections, with the events of the Revolution, that the death of either would have touched the chords of public sympathy. We should have felt that one great link connecting us with

former times was broken; that we had lost something more, as it were, of the presence of the Revolution itself, and of the act of independence, and were driven on, by another great remove from the days of our country's early distinction, to meet posterity, and to mix with the future. Like the mariner, whom the currents of the ocean and the winds carry along till he sees the stars which have directed his course and lighted his pathless way descend, one by one, beneath the rising horizon, we should have felt that the stream of time had borne us onward till another great luminary, whose light had cheered us and whose guidance we had followed, had sunk away from our sight.

But the concurrence of their death on the anniversary of independence has naturally awakened stronger emotions. Both had been Presidents, both had lived to great age, both were early patriots, and both were distinguished and ever honored by their immediate agency in the act of independence. It cannot but seem striking and extraordinary, that these two should live to see the fiftieth year from the date of that act; that they should complete that year; and that then, on the day which had fast linked forever their own fame with their country's glory, the heavens should open to receive them both at once. As their lives themselves were the gifts of Providence, who is not willing to recognize in their happy termination, as well as in their long continuance, proofs that our country and its benefactors are objects of his care?

Adams and Jefferson, I have said, are no more. As human beings, indeed, they are no more. They are no more, as in 1776, bold and fearless advocates of independence; no more, as at subsequent periods, the head of the government; no more, as we have

recently seen them, aged and venerable objects of admiration and regard. They are no more. They are dead. But how little is there of the great and good which can die! To their country they yet live, and live forever. They live in all that perpetuates the remembrance of men on earth; in the recorded proofs of their own great actions, in the offspring of their intellect, in the deep-engraved lines of public gratitude, and in the respect and homage of mankind. They live in their example; and they live, emphatically, and will live, in the influence which their lives and efforts, their principles and opinions, now exercise, and will continue to exercise, on the affairs of men, not only in their own country, but throughout the civilized world. A superior and commanding human intellect, a truly great man, when Heaven vouchsafes so rare a gift, is not a temporary flame, burning brightly for a while, and then giving place to returning darkness. It is rather a spark of fervent heat, as well as radiant light, with power to enkindle the common mass of human mind; so that when it glimmers in its own decay, and finally goes out in death, no night follows, but it leaves the world all light, all on fire, from the potent contact of its own spirit. Bacon died; but the human understanding, roused by the touch of his miraculous wand to a perception of the true philosophy and the just mode of inquiring after truth, has kept on its course successfully and gloriously. Newton died; yet the courses of the spheres are still known, and they yet move on by the laws which he discovered, and in the orbits which he saw and described for them in the infinity of space.

No two men now live, fellow-citizens, perhaps it may be doubted whether any two men have ever lived

in one age, who, more than those we now commemorate, have impressed on mankind their own sentiments in regard to politics and government, infused their own opinions more deeply into the opinions of others, or given a more lasting direction to the current of human thought. Their work doth not perish with them. The tree which they assisted to plant will flourish, although they water it and protect it no longer; for it has struck its roots deep, it has sent them to the very centre; no storm, not of force to burst the orb, can overturn it; its branches spread wide; they stretch their protecting arms broader and broader, and its top is destined to reach the heavens. We are not deceived. There is no delusion here. No age will come in which the American Revolution will appear less than it is, one of the greatest events in human history. No age will come in which it shall cease to be seen and felt, on either continent, that a mighty step, a great advance, not only in American affairs, but in human affairs, was made on the 4th of July, 1776. And no age will come, we trust, so ignorant or so unjust as not to see and acknowledge the efficient agency of those we now honor in producing that momentous event.

We are not assembled, therefore, fellow-citizens, as men overwhelmed with calamity by the sudden disruption of the ties of friendship or affection, or as in despair for the republic by the untimely blighting of its hopes. Death has not surprised us by an unseasonable blow. We have, indeed, seen the tomb close, but it has closed only over mature years, over long-protracted public service, over the weakness of age, and over life itself only when the ends of living had been fulfilled. These suns, as they rose slowly

and steadily, amidst clouds and storms, in their ascendant, so they have not rushed from their meridian to sink suddenly in the west. Like the mildness, the serenity, the continuing benignity of a summer's day, they have gone down with slow-descending, grateful, long-lingering light; and now that they are beyond the visible margin of the world, good omens cheer us from "the bright track of their fiery car"!

There were many points of similarity in the lives and fortunes of these great men. They belonged to the same profession, and had pursued its studies and its practice, for unequal lengths of time indeed, but with diligence and effect. Both were learned and able lawyers. They were natives and inhabitants, respectively, of those two of the Colonies which at the Revolution were the largest and most powerful, and which naturally had a lead in the political affairs of the times. When the Colonies became in some degree united by the assembling of a general Congress, they were brought to act together in its deliberations, not indeed at the same time, but both at early periods. Each had already manifested his attachment to the cause of the country, as well as his ability to maintain it, by printed addresses, public speeches, extensive correspondence, and whatever other mode could be adopted for the purpose of exposing the encroachments of the British Parliament, and animating the people to a manly resistance. Both were not only decided, but early friends of independence. While others yet doubted, they were resolved; where others hesitated, they pressed forward. They were both members of the committee for preparing the Declaration of Independence, and they constituted the subcommittee appointed by the other members to

•

make the draft. They left their seats in Congress, being called to other public employments, at periods not remote from each other, although one of them returned to it afterwards for a short time. Neither of them was of the assembly of great men which formed the present Constitution, and neither was at any time a member of Congress under its provisions. Both have been public ministers abroad, both Vice-Presidents and both Presidents of the United States. These coincidences are now singularly crowned and completed. They have died together; and they died on the anniversary of liberty.

When many of us were last in this place, fellow-citizens, it was on the day of that anniversary. We were met to enjoy the festivities belonging to the occasion, and to manifest our grateful homage to our political fathers. We did not, we could not here, forget our venerable neighbor of Quincy. We knew that we were standing, at a time of high and palmy prosperity, where he had stood in the hour of utmost peril; that we saw nothing but liberty and security, where he had met the frown of power; that we were enjoying everything, where he had hazarded everything; and just and sincere plaudits rose to his name from the crowds which filled this area and hung over these galleries. He whose grateful duty it was to speak to us,¹ on that day, of the virtues of our fathers, had, indeed, admonished us that time and years were about to level his venerable frame with the dust. But he bade us hope that "the sound of a nation's joy, rushing from our cities, ringing from our valleys, echoing from our hills, might yet break the silence of his aged ear; that the rising blessings of grateful mil-

¹ Hon. Josiah Quincy, at that time Mayor of Boston.

lions might yet visit with glad light his decaying vision." Alas! that vision was then closing forever. Alas! the silence which was then settling on that aged ear was an everlasting silence! For, lo! in the very moment of our festivities, his freed spirit ascended to God who gave it! Human aid and human solace terminate at the grave; or we would gladly have borne him upward, on a nation's outspread hands; we would have accompanied him, and with the blessings of millions and the prayers of millions commended him to the Divine favor.

While still indulging our thoughts on the coincidence of the death of this venerable man with the anniversary of independence, we learn that Jefferson, too, has fallen; and that these aged patriots, these illustrious fellow-laborers, have left our world together. May not such events raise the suggestion that they are not undesigned, and that Heaven does so order things as sometimes to attract strongly the attention and excite the thoughts of men? The occurrence has added new interest to our anniversary, and will be remembered in all time to come.

The occasion, fellow-citizens, requires some account of the lives and services of John Adams and Thomas Jefferson. This duty must necessarily be performed with great brevity, and in the discharge of it I shall be obliged to confine myself, principally, to those parts of their history and character which belonged to them as public men.

John Adams was born at Quincy, then part of the ancient town of Braintree, on the 19th day of October (old style), 1735. He was a descendant of the Puritans, his ancestors having early emigrated from Eng-

land and settled in Massachusetts. Discovering in childhood a strong love of reading and of knowledge, together with marks of great strength and activity of mind, proper care was taken by his worthy father to provide for his education. He pursued his youthful studies in Braintree, under Mr. Marsh, a teacher whose fortune it was that Josiah Quincy, Jr., as well as the subject of these remarks, should receive from him his instruction in the rudiments of classical literature. Having been admitted, in 1751, a member of Harvard College, Mr. Adams was graduated, in course, in 1755; and on the catalogue of that institution, his name, at the time of his death, was second among the living alumni, being preceded only by that of the venerable Holyoke.¹ With what degree of reputation he left the university is not now precisely known. We know only that he was distinguished in a class which numbered Locke and Hemmenway among its members. Choosing the law for his profession, he commenced and prosecuted its studies at Worcester under the direction of Samuel Putnam, a gentleman whom he has himself described as an acute man, an able and learned lawyer, and as being in large professional practice at that time. In 1758 he was admitted to the bar, and entered upon the practice of the law in Braintree. He is understood to have made his first considerable effort, or to have attained his first signal success, at Plymouth, on one of those occasions which furnish the earliest opportunity for distinction to many young men of the profession, a jury trial and a criminal cause. His

¹ Dr. Edward Augustus Holyoke, a Massachusetts physician of repute, who lived to celebrate his one hundredth birthday. There are several references to him in Dr. Holmes's writings.

business naturally grew with his reputation, and his residence in the vicinity afforded the opportunity, as his growing eminence gave the power, of entering on a larger field of practice in the capital. In 1766 he removed his residence to Boston, still continuing his attendance on the neighboring circuits, and not unfrequently called to remote parts of the Province. In 1770 his professional firmness was brought to a test of some severity, on the application of the British officers and soldiers to undertake their defence, on the trial of the indictments found against them on account of the transactions of the memorable 5th of March. He seems to have thought, on this occasion, that a man can no more abandon the proper duties of his profession than he can abandon other duties. The event proved that, as he judged well for his own reputation, so, too, he judged well for the interest and permanent fame of his country. The result of that trial proved that, notwithstanding the high degree of excitement then existing in consequence of the measures of the British government, a jury of Massachusetts would not deprive the most reckless enemies, even the officers of that standing army quartered among them, which they so perfectly abhorred, of any part of that protection which the law, in its mildest and most indulgent interpretation, affords to persons accused of crimes.

Without following Mr. Adams's professional course further, suffice it to say, that on the first establishment of the judicial tribunals under the authority of the State, in 1776, he received an offer of the high and responsible station of Chief Justice of the Supreme Court of Massachusetts. But he was destined for another and a different career. From

early life the bent of his mind was toward politics; a propensity which the state of the times, if it did not create, doubtless very much strengthened. Public subjects must have occupied the thoughts and filled up the conversation in the circles in which he then moved; and the interesting questions at that time just arising could not but seize on a mind like his, ardent, sanguine, and patriotic. A letter, fortunately preserved, written by him at Worcester, so early as the 12th of October, 1755, is a proof of very comprehensive views, and uncommon depth of reflection, in a young man not yet quite twenty. In this letter he predicted the transfer of power, and the establishment of a new seat of empire in America; he predicted, also, the increase of population in the Colonies; and anticipated their naval distinction, and foretold that all Europe combined could not subdue them. All this is said, not on a public occasion or for effect, but in the style of sober and friendly correspondence, as the result of his own thoughts. "I sometimes retire," said he, at the close of the letter, "and, laying things together, form some reflections pleasing to myself. The produce of one of these reveries you have read above." This prognostication so early in his own life, so early in the history of the country, of independence, of vast increase of numbers, of naval force, of such augmented power as might defy all Europe, is remarkable. It is more remarkable that its author should live to see fulfilled to the letter what could have seemed to others, at the time, but the extravagance of youthful fancy. His earliest political feelings were thus strongly American, and from this ardent attachment to his native soil he never departed.

While still living at Quincy, and at the age of twenty-four, Mr. Adams was present, in this town, at the argument before the Supreme Court respecting Writs of Assistance, and heard the celebrated and patriotic speech of James Otis. Unquestionably, that was a masterly performance. No flighty declamation about liberty, no superficial discussion of popular topics, it was a learned, penetrating, convincing, constitutional argument, expressed in a strain of high and resolute patriotism. He grasped the question then pending between England and her Colonies with the strength of a lion; and if he sometimes sported, it was only because the lion himself is sometimes playful. Its success appears to have been as great as its merits, and its impression was widely felt. Mr. Adams himself seems never to have lost the feeling it produced, and to have entertained constantly the fullest conviction of its important effects. "I do say," he observes, "in the most solemn manner, that Mr. Otis's Oration against Writs of Assistance breathed into this nation the breath of life."

In 1765 Mr. Adams laid before the public, anonymously, a series of essays, afterwards collected in a volume in London, under the title of "A Dissertation on the Canon and Feudal Law." The object of this work was to show that our New England ancestors, in consenting to exile themselves from their native land, were actuated mainly by the desire of delivering themselves from the power of the hierarchy, and from the monarchical and aristocratical systems of the other continent; and to make this truth bear with effect on the politics of the times. Its tone is uncommonly bold and animated for that period. He calls on the people, not only to defend, but to study and under-

stand, their rights and privileges; urges earnestly the necessity of diffusing general knowledge; invokes the clergy and the bar, the colleges and academies, and all others who have the ability and the means to expose the insidious designs of arbitrary power, to resist its approaches, and to be persuaded that there is a settled design on foot to enslave all America. "Be it remembered," says the author, "that liberty must, at all hazards, be supported. We have a right to it, derived from our Maker. But if we had not, our fathers have earned and bought it for us, at the expense of their ease, their estates, their pleasure, and their blood. And liberty cannot be preserved without a general knowledge among the people, who have a right, from the frame of their nature, to knowledge, as their great Creator, who does nothing in vain, has given them understandings and a desire to know. But, besides this, they have a right, an indisputable, unalienable, indefeasible, divine right, to that most dreaded and envied kind of knowledge, I mean of the characters and conduct of their rulers. Rulers are no more than attorneys, agents, and trustees for the people; and if the cause, the interest and trust, is insidiously betrayed or wantonly trifled away, the people have a right to revoke the authority that they themselves have deputed, and to constitute abler and better agents, attorneys, and trustees."

The citizens of this town conferred on Mr. Adams his first political distinction, and clothed him with his first political trust, by electing him one of their representatives, in 1770. Before this time he had become extensively known throughout the Province, as well by the part he had acted in relation to public affairs, as by the exercise of his professional ability. He

was among those who took the deepest interest in the controversy with England, and whether in or out of the legislature, his time and talents were alike devoted to the cause. In the years 1773 and 1774 he was chosen a councillor by the members of the General Court, but rejected by Governor Hutchinson in the former of those years, and by Governor Gage in the latter.

The time was now at hand, however, when the affairs of the Colonies urgently demanded united counsels throughout the country. An open rupture with the parent state appeared inevitable, and it was but the dictate of prudence that those who were united by a common interest and a common danger should protect that interest and guard against that danger by united efforts. A general Congress of Delegates from all the Colonies having been proposed and agreed to, the House of Representatives, on the 17th of June, 1774, elected James Bowdoin, Thomas Cushing, Samuel Adams, John Adams, and Robert Treat Paine, delegates from Massachusetts. This appointment was made at Salem, where the General Court had been convened by Governor Gage, in the last hour of the existence of a House of Representatives under the Provincial Charter. While engaged in this important business, the Governor, having been informed of what was passing, sent his secretary with a message dissolving the General Court. The secretary, finding the door locked, directed the messenger to go in and inform the Speaker that the secretary was at the door with a message from the Governor. The messenger returned, and informed the secretary that the orders of the House were that the doors should be kept fast; whereupon the secretary soon

after read upon the stairs a proclamation dissolving the General Court. Thus terminated, forever, the actual exercise of the political power of England in or over Massachusetts. The four last-named delegates accepted their appointments, and took their seats in Congress the first day of its meeting, the 5th of September, 1774, in Philadelphia.

The proceedings of the first Congress are well known, and have been universally admired. It is in vain that we would look for superior proofs of wisdom, talent, and patriotism. Lord Chatham said, that, for himself, he must declare that he had studied and admired the free states of antiquity, the master states of the world, but that for solidity of reasoning, force of sagacity, and wisdom of conclusion, no body of men could stand in preference to this Congress. It is hardly inferior praise to say, that no production of that great man himself can be pronounced superior to several of the papers published as the proceedings of this most able, most firm, most patriotic assembly. There is, indeed, nothing superior to them in the range of political disquisition. They not only embrace, illustrate, and enforce everything which political philosophy, the love of liberty, and the spirit of free inquiry had antecedently produced, but they add new and striking views of their own, and apply the whole, with irresistible force, in support of the cause which had drawn them together.

Mr. Adams was a constant attendant on the deliberations of this body, and bore an active part in its important measures. He was of the committee to state the rights of the Colonies, and of that also which reported the Address to the King.

As it was in the Continental Congress, fellow-citizens, that those whose deaths have given rise to this occasion were first brought together, and called upon to unite their industry and their ability in the service of the country, let us now turn to the other of these distinguished men, and take a brief notice of his life up to the period when he appeared within the walls of Congress.

Thomas Jefferson, descended from ancestors who had been settled in Virginia for some generations, was born near the spot on which he died, in the county of Albemarle, on the 2d of April (old style), 1743. His youthful studies were pursued in the neighborhood of his father's residence until he was removed to the College of William and Mary, the highest honors of which he in due time received. Having left the college with reputation, he applied himself to the study of the law under the tuition of George Wythe, one of the highest judicial names of which that State can boast. At an early age he was elected a member of the legislature, in which he had no sooner appeared than he distinguished himself by knowledge, capacity, and promptitude.

Mr. Jefferson appears to have been imbued with an early love of letters and science, and to have cherished a strong disposition to pursue these objects. To the physical sciences, especially, and to ancient classic literature, he is understood to have had a warm attachment, and never entirely to have lost sight of them in the midst of the busiest occupations. But the times were times for action, rather than for contemplation. The country was to be defended, and to be saved, before it could be enjoyed. Philosophic leisure and literary pursuits, and even the objects of

professional attention, were all necessarily postponed to the urgent calls of the public service. The exigency of the country made the same demand on Mr. Jefferson that it made on others who had the ability and the disposition to serve it; and he obeyed the call; thinking and feeling in this respect with the great Roman orator: "Quis enim est tam cupidus in perspicienda cognoscendaque rerum natura, ut, si ei tractanti contemplantique res cognitione dignissimas subito sit allatum periculum discrimenque patriæ, cui subvenire opitulatique possit, non illa omnia relinquat atque abjiciat, etiam si dinumerare se stellas, aut metiri mundi magnitudinem posse arbitretur?"¹

Entering with all his heart into the cause of liberty, his ability, patriotism, and power with the pen naturally drew upon him a large participation in the most important concerns. Wherever he was, there was found a soul devoted to the cause, power to defend and maintain it, and willingness to incur all its hazards. In 1774 he published a "Summary View of the Rights of British America," a valuable production among those intended to show the dangers which threatened the liberties of the country, and to encourage the people in their defence. In June, 1775, he was elected a member of the Continental Congress, as successor to Peyton Randolph, who had resigned his place on account of ill health, and took his seat in that body on the 21st of the same month.

And now, fellow-citizens, without pursuing the

¹ For who is so eager to perceive and understand the nature of things, that if, when he is studying and dwelling in his thought on the loftiest matters, there suddenly arise some peril, some crisis of his country, that country which it is his to help, to rescue, he will not leave all these things, and cast them aside, even though he deem himself fit to number the stars or to measure the greatness of a world? — Cicero, *De Officiis*, I. 43.

biography of these illustrious men further, for the present, let us turn our attention to the most prominent act of their lives, their participation in the Declaration of Independence.

Preparatory to the introduction of that important measure, a committee, at the head of which was Mr. Adams, had reported a resolution, which Congress adopted on the 10th of May, recommending, in substance, to all the Colonies which had not already established governments suited to the exigencies of their affairs, to adopt such government as would, in the opinion of the representatives of the people, best conduce to the happiness and safety of their constituents in particular, and America in general.

This significant vote was soon followed by the direct proposition which Richard Henry Lee had the honor to submit to Congress, by resolution, on the seventh day of June. The published journal does not expressly state it, but there is no doubt, I suppose, that this resolution was in the same words, when originally submitted by Mr. Lee, as when finally passed. Having been discussed on Saturday, the 8th, and Monday, the 10th of June, this resolution was on the last mentioned day postponed for further consideration to the first day of July; and at the same time it was voted, that a committee be appointed to prepare a Declaration to the effect of the resolution. This committee was elected by ballot on the following day, and consisted of Thomas Jefferson, John Adams, Benjamin Franklin, Roger Sherman, and Robert R. Livingston.

It is usual, when committees are elected by ballot, that their members should be arranged in order, according to the number of votes which each has

received. Mr. Jefferson, therefore, had received the highest, and Mr. Adams the next highest number of votes. The difference is said to have been but of a single vote. Mr. Jefferson and Mr. Adams, standing thus at the head of the committee, were requested by the other members to act as a subcommittee to prepare the draft; and Mr. Jefferson drew up the paper. The original draft, as brought by him from his study, and submitted to the other members of the committee, with interlineations in the handwriting of Dr. Franklin, and others in that of Mr. Adams, was in Mr. Jefferson's possession at the time of his death. The merit of this paper is Mr. Jefferson's. Some changes were made in it at the suggestion of other members of the committee, and others by Congress while it was under discussion. But none of them altered the tone, the frame, the arrangement, or the general character of the instrument. As a composition, the Declaration is Mr. Jefferson's. It is the production of his mind, and the high honor of it belongs to him, clearly and absolutely.¹

It has sometimes been said, as if it were a derogation from the merits of this paper, that it contains nothing new; that it only states grounds of proceeding and presses topics of argument which had often been stated and pressed before. But it was not the object of the Declaration to produce anything new. It was not to invent reasons for independence, but to state those which governed the Congress. For great and sufficient causes it was proposed to declare inde-

¹ The share which Jefferson and Adams had in the preparation of this paper is considered briefly by Mr. J. T. Morse, Jr., in his separate volumes on these two men in the *American Statesmen* series.

pendence; and the proper business of the paper to be drawn was to set forth those causes, and justify the authors of the measure, in any event of fortune, to the country and to posterity. The cause of American independence, moreover, was now to be presented to the world in such manner, if it might so be, as to engage its sympathy, to command its respect, to attract its admiration; and in an assembly of most able and distinguished men, Thomas Jefferson had the high honor of being the selected advocate of this cause. To say that he performed his great work well would be doing him injustice. To say that he did excellently well, admirably well, would be inadequate and halting praise. Let us rather say, that he so discharged the duty assigned him, that all Americans may well rejoice that the work of drawing the title-deed of their liberties devolved upon him.

With all its merits, there are those who have thought that there was one thing in the Declaration to be regretted; and that is, the asperity and apparent anger with which it speaks of the person of the king; the industrious ability with which it accumulates and charges upon him all the injuries which the Colonies had suffered from the mother country. Possibly some degree of injustice, now or hereafter, at home or abroad, may be done to the character of Mr. Jefferson, if this part of the Declaration be not placed in its proper light. Anger or resentment, certainly much less personal reproach and invective, could not properly find place in a composition of such high dignity and of such lofty and permanent character.

A single reflection on the original ground of dispute between England and the Colonies is sufficient to remove any unfavorable impression in this respect.

The inhabitants of all the Colonies, while Colonies, admitted themselves bound by their allegiance to the king; but they disclaimed altogether the authority of Parliament; holding themselves, in this respect, to resemble the condition of Scotland and Ireland before the respective unions of those kingdoms with England, when they acknowledged allegiance to the same king, but had each its separate legislature. The tie, therefore, which our Revolution was to break, did not subsist between us and the British Parliament, or between us and the British government in the aggregate, but directly between us and the king himself. The Colonies had never admitted themselves subject to Parliament. That was precisely the point of the original controversy. They had uniformly denied that Parliament had authority to make laws for them. There was, therefore, no subjection to Parliament to be thrown off. But allegiance to the king did exist, and had been uniformly acknowledged; and down to 1775 the most solemn assurances had been given that it was not intended to break that allegiance, or to throw it off. Therefore, as the direct object and only effect of the Declaration, according to the principles on which the controversy had been maintained on our part, were to sever the tie of allegiance which bound us to the king, it was properly and necessarily founded on acts of the crown itself, as its justifying causes. Parliament is not so much as mentioned in the whole instrument. When odious and oppressive acts are referred to, it is done by charging the king with confederating with others "in pretended acts of legislation;" the object being constantly to hold the king, himself directly responsible for those measures which were the grounds of separation. Even the precedent

of the English Revolution was not overlooked, and in this case, as well as in that, occasion was found to say that the king had *abdicated* the government. Consistency with the principles upon which resistance began, and with all the previous state papers issued by Congress, required that the Declaration should be bottomed on the misgovernment of the king; and, therefore, it was properly framed with that aim and to that end. The king was known, indeed, to have acted, as in other cases, by his ministers, and with his Parliament; but as our ancestors had never admitted themselves subject either to ministers or to Parliament, there were no reasons to be given for now refusing obedience to their authority. This clear and obvious necessity of founding the Declaration on the misconduct of the king himself gives to that instrument its personal application, and its character of direct and pointed accusation.

The Declaration having been reported to Congress by the committee, the resolution itself was taken up and debated on the first day of July, and again on the second, on which last day it was agreed to and adopted, in these words: —

“*Resolved*, That these united Colonies are, and of right ought to be, free and independent States; that they are absolved from all allegiance to the British crown, and that all political connection between them and the state of Great Britain is, and ought to be, totally dissolved.”

Having thus passed the main resolution, Congress proceeded to consider the reported draft of the Declaration. It was discussed on the second, and third, and fourth days of the month, in committee of the whole; and on the last of those days, being reported

from that committee, it received the final approbation and sanction of Congress. It was ordered, at the same time, that copies be sent to the several States, and that it be proclaimed at the head of the army. The Declaration thus published did not bear the names of the members, for as yet it had not been signed by them. It was authenticated, like other papers of the Congress, by the signatures of the President and Secretary. On the 19th of July, as appears by the secret journal, Congress *Resolved*, That the Declaration, passed on the fourth, be fairly engrossed on parchment, with the title and style of 'The Unanimous Declaration of the Thirteen United States of America;' and that the same, when engrossed, be signed by every member of Congress." And on the second day of August following, "the Declaration, being engrossed and compared at the table, was signed by the members." So that it happens, fellow-citizens, that we pay these honors to their memory on the anniversary of that day (2d of August) on which these great men actually signed their names to the Declaration. The Declaration was thus made, that is, it passed and was adopted as an act of Congress, on the 4th of July; it was then signed, and certified by the President and Secretary, like other acts. The 4th of July, therefore, is the anniversary of the Declaration. But the signatures of the members present were made to it, being then engrossed on parchment, on the second day of August. Absent members afterwards signed, as they came in; and, indeed, it bears the names of some who were not chosen members of Congress until after the 4th of July. The interest belonging to the subject will be sufficient, I hope, to justify these details.

The Congress of the Revolution, fellow-citizens, sat with closed doors, and no report of its debates was ever made. The discussion, therefore, which accompanied this great measure has never been preserved, except in memory and by tradition. But it is, I believe, doing no injustice to others to say, that the general opinion was, and uniformly has been, that in debate, on the side of independence, John Adams had no equal. The great author of the Declaration himself has expressed that opinion uniformly and strongly. "John Adams," said he, in the hearing of him who has now the honor to address you, "John Adams was our colossus on the floor. Not graceful, not elegant, not always fluent in his public addresses, he yet came out with a power, both of thought and of expression, which moved us from our seats."

For the part which he was here to perform, Mr. Adams doubtless was eminently fitted. He possessed a bold spirit, which disregarded danger, and a sanguine reliance on the goodness of the cause, and the virtues of the people, which led him to overlook all obstacles. His character, too, had been formed in troubled times. He had been rocked in the early storms of the controversy, and had acquired a decision and a hardihood proportioned to the severity of the discipline which he had undergone.

He not only loved the American cause devoutly, but had studied and understood it. It was all familiar to him. He had tried his powers on the questions which it involved, often and in various ways; and had brought to their consideration whatever of argument or illustration the history of his own country, the history of England, or the stores of ancient or of legal learning could furnish. Every grievance enu-

merated in the long catalogue of the Declaration had been the subject of his discussion, and the object of his remonstrance and reprobation. From 1760, the Colonies, the rights of the Colonies, the liberties of the Colonies, and the wrongs inflicted on the Colonies, had engaged his constant attention; and it has surprised those who have had the opportunity of witnessing it, with what full remembrance and with what prompt recollection he could refer, in his extreme old age, to every act of Parliament affecting the Colonies, distinguishing and stating their respective titles, sections, and provisions; and to all the Colonial memorials, remonstrances, and petitions, with whatever else belonged to the intimate and exact history of the times from that year to 1775. It was, in his own judgment, between these years that the American people came to a full understanding and thorough knowledge of their rights, and to a fixed resolution of maintaining them; and bearing himself an active part in all important transactions, the controversy with England being then in effect the business of his life, facts, dates, and particulars made an impression which was never effaced. He was prepared, therefore, by education and discipline, as well as by natural talent and natural temperament, for the part which he was now to act.

The eloquence of Mr. Adams resembled his general character, and formed, indeed, a part of it. It was bold, manly, and energetic; and such the crisis required. When public bodies are to be addressed on momentous occasions, when great interests are at stake, and strong passions excited, nothing is valuable in speech farther than as it is connected with high intellectual and moral endowments. Clearness,

force, and earnestness are the qualities which produce conviction. True eloquence, indeed, does not consist in speech. It cannot be brought from far. Labor and learning may toil for it, but they will toil in vain. Words and phrases may be marshalled in every way, but they cannot compass it. It must exist in the man, in the subject, and in the occasion. Affected passion, intense expression, the pomp of declamation, all may aspire to it; they cannot reach it. It comes, if it come at all, like the outbreking of a fountain from the earth, or the bursting forth of volcanic fires, with spontaneous, original, native force. The graces taught in the schools, the costly ornaments and studied contrivances of speech, shock and disgust men, when their own lives, and the fate of their wives, their children, and their country, hang on the decision of the hour. Then words have lost their power, rhetoric is vain, and all elaborate oratory contemptible. Even genius itself then feels rebuked and subdued, as in the presence of higher qualities. Then patriotism is eloquent; then self-devotion is eloquent. The clear conception, outrunning the deductions of logic, the high purpose, the firm resolve, the dauntless spirit, speaking on the tongue, beaming from the eye, informing every feature, and urging the whole man onward, right onward to his object — this, this is eloquence; or rather it is something greater and higher than all eloquence, it is action, noble, sublime, godlike action.

In July, 1776, the controversy had passed the stage of argument. An appeal had been made to force, and opposing armies were in the field. Congress, then, was to decide whether the tie which had so long bound us to the parent State was to be sev-

ered at once, and severed forever. All the Colonies had signified their resolution to abide by this decision, and the people looked for it with the most intense anxiety. And surely, fellow-citizens, never, never were men called to a more important political deliberation. If we contemplate it from the point where they then stood, no question could be more full of interest; if we look at it now, and judge of its importance by its effects, it appears of still greater magnitude.

Let us, then, bring before us the assembly which was about to decide a question thus big with the fate of empire. Let us open their doors, and look in upon their deliberations. Let us survey the anxious and careworn countenances, let us hear the firm-toned voices of this band of patriots.

Hancock presides over the solemn sitting; and one of those not yet prepared to pronounce for absolute independence is on the floor, and is urging his reasons for dissenting from the Declaration.

“Let us pause! This step, once taken, cannot be retraced. This resolution, once passed, will cut off all hope of reconciliation. If success attend the arms of England, we shall then be no longer Colonies, with charters and with privileges; these will all be forfeited by this act; and we shall be in the condition of other conquered people, at the mercy of the conquerors. For ourselves, we may be ready to run the hazard; but are we ready to carry the country to that length? Is success so probable as to justify it? Where is the military, where the naval power, by which we are to resist the whole strength of the arm of England? — for she will exert that strength to the utmost. Can we rely on the constancy and persever-

ance of the people? or will they not act as the people of other countries have acted, and, wearied with a long war, submit, in the end, to a worse oppression? While we stand on our old ground, and insist on redress of grievances, we know we are right, and are not answerable for consequences. Nothing, then, can be imputed to us. But if we now change our object, carry our pretensions farther, and set up for absolute independence, we shall lose the sympathy of mankind. We shall no longer be defending what we possess, but struggling for something which we never did possess, and which we have solemnly and uniformly disclaimed all intention of pursuing from the very outset of the troubles. Abandoning thus our old ground, of resistance only to arbitrary acts of oppression, the nations will believe the whole to have been mere pretence, and they will look on us, not as injured, but as ambitious subjects. I shudder before this responsibility. It will be on us, if, relinquishing the ground on which we have stood so long, and stood so safely, we now proclaim independence, and carry on the war for that object, while these cities burn, these pleasant fields whiten and bleach with the bones of their owners, and these streams run blood. It will be upon us, it will be upon us, if, failing to maintain this unseasonable and ill-judged Declaration, a sterner despotism, maintained by military power, shall be established over our posterity, when we ourselves, given up by an exhausted, a harassed, a misled people, shall have expiated our rashness and atoned for our presumption on the scaffold."

It was for Mr. Adams to reply to arguments like these. We know his opinions, and we know his character. He would commence with his accustomed directness and earnestness.

"Sink or swim, live or die, survive or perish, I give my hand and my heart to this vote. It is true, indeed, that in the beginning we aimed not at independence. But there's a Divinity which shapes our ends. The injustice of England has driven us to arms; and, blinded to her own interest for our good, she has obstinately persisted, till independence is now within our grasp. We have but to reach forth to it, and it is ours. Why, then, should we defer the Declaration? Is any man so weak as now to hope for a reconciliation with England, which shall leave either safety to the country and its liberties, or safety to his own life and his own honor? Are not you, sir, who sit in that chair, is not he, our venerable colleague near you, are you not both already the proscribed and predestined objects of punishment and of vengeance? Cut off from all hope of royal clemency, what are you, what can you be, while the power of England remains, but outlaws? If we postpone independence, do we mean to carry on, or to give up, the war? Do we mean to submit to the measures of Parliament, Boston Port Bill, and all? Do we mean to submit, and consent that we ourselves shall be ground to powder, and our country and its rights trodden down in the dust? I know we do not mean to submit. We never shall submit. Do we intend to violate that most solemn obligation ever entered into by men, that plighting, before God, of our sacred honor to Washington, when, putting him forth to incur the dangers of war, as well as the political hazards of the times, we promised to adhere to him, in every extremity, with our fortunes and our lives? I know there is not a man here who would not rather see a general conflagration sweep over the land, or an

earthquake sink it, than one jot or tittle of that plighted faith fall to the ground. For myself, having, twelve months ago in this place, moved you that George Washington be appointed commander of the forces raised or to be raised for defence of American liberty, may my right hand forget her cunning, and my tongue cleave to the roof of my mouth, if I hesitate or waver in the support I give him.

“The war, then, must go on. We must fight it through. And if the war must go on, why put off longer the Declaration of Independence? That measure will strengthen us. It will give us character abroad. The nations will then treat with us, which they never can do while we acknowledge ourselves subjects, in arms against our sovereign. Nay, I maintain that England herself will sooner treat for peace with us on the footing of independence, than consent, by repealing her acts, to acknowledge that her whole conduct towards us has been a course of injustice and oppression. Her pride will be less wounded by submitting to that course of things which now predestinates our independence than by yielding the points in controversy to her rebellious subjects. The former she would regard as the result of fortune; the latter she would feel as her own deep disgrace. Why, then, why, then, sir, do we not as soon as possible change this from a civil to a national war? And since we must fight it through, why not put ourselves in a state to enjoy all the benefits of victory, if we gain the victory?

“If we fail it can be no worse for us. But we shall not fail. The cause will raise up armies; the cause will create navies. The people, the people, if we are true to them, will carry us, and will carry themselves,

gloriously, through this struggle. I care not how fickle other people have been found. I know the people of these Colonies, and I know that resistance to British aggression is deep and settled in their hearts and cannot be eradicated. Every Colony, indeed, has expressed its willingness to follow, if we but take the lead. Sir, the Declaration will inspire the people with increased courage. Instead of a long and bloody war for the restoration of privileges, for redress of grievances, for chartered immunities, held under a British king, set before them the glorious object of entire independence, and it will breathe into them anew the breath of life. Read this Declaration at the head of the army; every sword will be drawn from its scabbard, and the solemn vow uttered to maintain it, or to perish on the bed of honor. Publish it from the pulpit; religion will approve it, and the love of religious liberty will cling round it, resolved to stand with it, or fall with it. Send it to the public halls; proclaim it there; let them hear it who heard the first roar of the enemy's cannon; let them see it who saw their brothers and their sons fall on the field of Bunker Hill, and in the streets of Lexington and Concord, and the very walls will cry out in its support.

"Sir, I know the uncertainty of human affairs, but I see, I see clearly, through this day's business. You and I, indeed, may rue it. We may not live to the time when this Declaration shall be made good. We may die; die colonists; die slaves; die, it may be, ignominiously and on the scaffold. Be it so. Be it so. If it be the pleasure of Heaven that my country shall require the poor offering of my life, the victim shall be ready, at the appointed hour of sacrifice, come

when that hour may. But while I do live, let me have a country, or at least the hope of a country, and that a free country.

“But whatever may be our fate, be assured, be assured that this Declaration will stand. It may cost treasure, and it may cost blood; but it will stand, and it will richly compensate for both. Through the thick gloom of the present I see the brightness of the future, as the sun in heaven. We shall make this a glorious, an immortal day. When we are in our graves, our children will honor it. They will celebrate it with thanksgiving, with festivity, with bonfires and illuminations. On its annual return they will shed tears, copious, gushing tears, not of subjection and slavery, not of agony and distress, but of exultation, of gratitude, and of joy. Sir, before God, I believe the hour is come. My judgment approves this measure, and my whole heart is in it. All that I have, and all that I am, and all that I hope, in this life, I am now ready here to stake upon it; and I leave off as I begun, that live or die, survive or perish, I am for the Declaration. It is my living sentiment, and, by the blessing of God, it shall be my dying sentiment, Independence now, and Independence forever.”¹

¹ This speech, thus put into the mouth of John Adams, was composed by Mr. Webster after the manner of ancient historians, Thucydides, for example, elaborating the argument which he had reason to believe lay in the mind of the supposed speaker. Mr. Webster, after delivering this oration, was called upon often to resolve the doubt which people had respecting the authenticity of John Adams's speech. In reply to an inquiry of this nature, twenty years later he wrote : —

“I have the honor to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of the 18th instant. Its contents hardly surprise me, as I have received very many similar communications.

And so that day shall be honored, illustrious prophet and patriot ! so that day shall be honored, and as often as it returns, thy renown shall come along with it, and the glory of thy life, like the day of thy death, shall not fail from the remembrance of men.

It would be unjust, fellow-citizens, on this occasion, while we express our veneration for him who is the immediate subject of these remarks, were we to omit a most respectful, affectionate, and grateful mention of those other great men, his colleagues, who stood with him, and with the same spirit, the same devotion,

“Your inquiry is easily answered. The Congress of the Revolution sat with closed doors. Its proceedings were made known to the public, from time to time, by printing its journal ; but the debates were not published. So far as I know, there is not existing, in print or manuscript, the speech, or any part or fragment of the speech, delivered by Mr. Adams on the question of the Declaration of Independence. We only know, from the testimony of his auditors, that he spoke with remarkable ability and characteristic earnestness.

“The day after the Declaration was made, Mr. Adams, in writing to a friend, declared the event to be one that ‘ought to be commemorated, as the day of deliverance, by solemn acts of devotion to God Almighty. It ought to be solemnized with pomp and parade, with shows, games, sports, guns, bells, bon-fires, and illuminations, from one end of this continent to the other, from this time forward, for evermore.’

“And on the day of his death, hearing the noise of bells and cannon, he asked the occasion. On being reminded that it was ‘Independent Day,’ he replied, ‘Independence forever !’ These expressions were introduced into the speech *supposed* to have been made by him. For the rest, I must be answerable. The speech was written by me, in my house in Boston, the day before the delivery of the Discourse in Faneuil Hall ; a poor substitute, I am sure it would appear to be, if we could now see the speech actually made by Mr. Adams on that transcendently important occasion.”

took part in the interesting transaction. Hancock, the proscribed Hancock, exiled from his home by a military governor, cut off by proclamation from the mercy of the crown, — Heaven reserved for him the distinguished honor of putting this great question to the vote, and of writing his own name first, and most conspicuously, on that parchment which spoke defiance to the power of the crown of England. There, too, is the name of that other proscribed patriot, Samuel Adams, a man who hungered and thirsted for the independence of his country; who thought the Declaration halted and lingered, being himself not only ready, but eager, for it, long before it was proposed; a man of the deepest sagacity, the clearest foresight, and the profoundest judgment in men. And there is Gerry, himself among the earliest and the foremost of the patriots, found, when the battle of Lexington summoned them to common counsels, by the side of Warren; a man who lived to serve his country at home and abroad, and to die in the second place in the government. There, too, is the inflexible, the upright, the Spartan character, Robert Treat Paine. He also lived to serve his country through the struggle, and then withdrew from her councils, only that he might give his labors and his life to his native State in another relation. These names, fellow-citizens, are the treasures of the commonwealth; and they are treasures which grow brighter by time.

It is now necessary to resume the narrative, and to finish with great brevity the notice of the lives of those whose virtues and services we have met to commemorate.

Mr. Adams remained in Congress from its first

meeting till November, 1777, when he was appointed Minister to France. He proceeded on that service in the February following, embarking in the frigate *Boston*, from the shore of his native town, at the foot of Mount Wollaston. The year following, he was appointed commissioner to treat of peace with England. Returning to the United States, he was a delegate from Braintree in the Convention for framing the Constitution of this commonwealth, in 1780.¹ At the latter end of the same year, he again went abroad in the diplomatic service of the country, and was employed at various courts, and occupied with various negotiations, until 1788. The particulars of these interesting and important services this occasion does not allow time to relate. In 1782 he concluded our first treaty with Holland. His negotiations with that republic, his efforts to persuade the States-General to recognize our independence, his incessant and indefatigable exertions to represent the American cause favorably on the Continent, and to counteract the designs of its enemies, open and secret, and his successful undertaking to obtain loans, on the credit of a nation yet new and unknown, are among his most arduous, most useful, most honorable services. It was his fortune to bear a part in the negotiation for peace with England, and in something more than six years from the Declaration which he had so strenuously supported he had the satisfaction of seeing the minister plenipotentiary of the crown subscribe his name to the instrument which declared that his "Britannic Majesty acknowledged the United States to be free, sovereign, and independent." In these

¹ In this convention he was chairman of the committee for preparing a draft of a constitution.

important transactions, Mr. Adams's conduct received the marked approbation of Congress and of the country.

While abroad, in 1787, he published his "Defence of the American Constitutions;" a work of merit and ability, though composed with haste, on the spur of a particular occasion, in the midst of other occupations, and under circumstances not admitting of careful revision. The immediate object of the work was to counteract the weight of opinions advanced by several popular European writers of that day, M. Turgot, the Abbé de Mably, and Dr. Price, at a time when the people of the United States were employed in forming and revising their systems of government.

Returning to the United States in 1788, he found the new government about going into operation, and was himself elected the first Vice-President, a situation which he filled with reputation for eight years, at the expiration of which he was raised to the Presidential chair, as immediate successor to the immortal Washington. In this high station he was succeeded by Mr. Jefferson, after a memorable controversy between their respective friends, in 1801; and from that period his manner of life has been known to all who hear me. He has lived, for five-and-twenty years, with every enjoyment that could render old age happy. Not inattentive to the occurrences of the times, political cares have yet not materially, or for any long time, disturbed his repose. In 1820 he acted as elector of President and Vice-President, and in the same year we saw him, then at the age of eighty-five, a member of the Convention of this commonwealth called to revise the Constitution. Forty years before, he had been one of those who formed

.

that Constitution; and he had now the pleasure of witnessing that there was little which the people desired to change. Possessing all his faculties to the end of his long life, with an unabated love of reading and contemplation, in the centre of interesting circles of friendship and affection, he was blessed in his retirement with whatever of repose and felicity the condition of man allows. He had, also, other enjoyments. He saw around him that prosperity and general happiness which had been the object of his public cares and labors. No man ever beheld more clearly, and for a longer time, the great and beneficial effects of the services rendered by himself to his country. That liberty which he so early defended, that independence of which he was so able an advocate and supporter, he saw, we trust, firmly and securely established. The population of the country thickened around him faster, and extended wider, than his own sanguine predictions had anticipated; and the wealth, respectability, and power of the nation sprang up to a magnitude which it is quite impossible he could have expected to witness in his day. He lived also to behold those principles of civil freedom which had been developed, established, and practically applied in America, attract attention, command respect, and awaken imitation, in other regions of the globe; and well might, and well did, he exclaim, "Where will the consequences of the American Revolution end?"

If anything yet remain to fill this cup of happiness, let it be added that he lived to see a great and intelligent people bestow the highest honor in their gift where he had bestowed his own kindest parental affections and lodged his fondest hopes. Thus honored

•

in life, thus happy at death, he saw the Jubilee, and he died; and with the last prayers which trembled on his lips was the fervent supplication for his country, "Independence forever!"

Mr. Jefferson, having been occupied in the years 1778 and 1779 in the important service of revising the laws of Virginia, was elected Governor of that State, as successor to Patrick Henry, and held the situation when the State was invaded by the British arms. In 1781 he published his "Notes on Virginia," a work which attracted attention in Europe as well as America, dispelled many misconceptions respecting this continent, and gave its author a place among men distinguished for science. In November, 1783, he again took his seat in the Continental Congress, but in the May following was appointed Minister Plenipotentiary, to act abroad, in the negotiation of commercial treaties, with Dr. Franklin and Mr. Adams. He proceeded to France in execution of this mission, embarking at Boston; and that was the only occasion on which he ever visited this place. In 1785 he was appointed Minister to France, the duties of which situation he continued to perform until October, 1789, when he obtained leave to retire, just on the eve of that tremendous revolution which has so much agitated the world in our times. Mr. Jefferson's discharge of his diplomatic duties was marked by great ability, diligence, and patriotism; and while he resided at Paris, in one of the most interesting periods, his character for intelligence, his love of knowledge, and of the society of learned men, distinguished him in the highest circles of the French capital. No court in Europe had at that time in Paris a

representative commanding or enjoying higher regard, for political knowledge or for general attainments, than the minister of this then infant republic. Immediately on his return to his native country, at the organization of the government under the present Constitution, his talents and experience recommended him to President Washington for the first office in his gift. He was placed at the head of the Department of State. In this situation, also, he manifested conspicuous ability. His correspondence with the ministers of other powers residing here and his instructions to our own diplomatic agents abroad are among our ablest state papers. A thorough knowledge of the laws and usages of nations, perfect acquaintance with the immediate subject before him, great felicity, and still greater facility, in writing show themselves in whatever effort his official situation called on him to make. It is believed by competent judges that the diplomatic intercourse of the government of the United States, from the first meeting of the Continental Congress in 1774 to the present time, taken together, would not suffer, in respect to the talent with which it has been conducted, by comparison with anything which other and older governments can produce; and to the attainment of this respectability and distinction Mr. Jefferson has contributed his full part.

On the retirement of General Washington from the Presidency, and the election of Mr. Adams to that office in 1797, he was chosen Vice-President. While presiding in this capacity over the deliberations of the Senate, he compiled and published a "Manual of Parliamentary Practice," a work of more labor and more merit than is indicated by its size.

It is now received as the general standard by which proceedings are regulated, not only in both Houses of Congress, but in most of the other legislative bodies in the country. In 1801 he was elected President, in opposition to Mr. Adams, and reëlected in 1805, by a vote approaching towards unanimity.

From the time of his final retirement from public life, in 1808, Mr. Jefferson lived as became a wise man. Surrounded by affectionate friends, his ardor in the pursuit of knowledge undiminished, with uncommon health and unbroken spirits, he was able to enjoy largely the rational pleasures of life, and to partake in that public prosperity which he had so much contributed to produce. His kindness and hospitality, the charm of his conversation, the ease of his manners, the extent of his acquirements, and, especially, the full store of Revolutionary incidents which he had treasured in his memory, and which he knew when and how to dispense, rendered his abode in a high degree attractive to his admiring countrymen, while his high public and scientific character drew towards him every intelligent and educated traveler from abroad. Both Mr. Adams and Mr. Jefferson had the pleasure of knowing that the respect which they so largely received was not paid to their official stations. They were not men made great by office; but great men, on whom the country for its own benefit had conferred office. There was that in them which office did not give, and which the relinquishment of office did not, and could not, take away. In their retirement, in the midst of their fellow-citizens, themselves private citizens, they enjoyed as high regard and esteem as when filling the most important places of public trust.

There remained to Mr. Jefferson yet one other work of patriotism and beneficence, the establishment of a university in his native State. To this object he devoted years of incessant and anxious attention, and by the enlightened liberality of the Legislature of Virginia, and the coöperation of other able and zealous friends, he lived to see it accomplished. May all success attend this infant seminary; and may those who enjoy its advantages, as often as their eyes shall rest on the neighboring height, recollect what they owe to their disinterested and indefatigable benefactor; and may letters honor him who thus labored in the cause of letters!¹

Thus useful, and thus respected, passed the old age of Thomas Jefferson. But time was on its ever-ceaseless wing, and was now bringing the last hour of this illustrious man. He saw its approach with undisturbed serenity. He counted the moments as they passed, and beheld that his last sands were falling. That day, too, was at hand which he had helped to make immortal. One wish, one hope, if it were not presumptuous, beat in his fainting breast. Could it be so, might it please God, he would desire once more to see the sun, once more to look abroad on the scene around him, on the great day of liberty. Heaven, in its mercy, fulfilled that prayer. He saw that sun, he enjoyed its sacred light, he thanked God for this mercy, and bowed his aged head to the grave. "Fe-

¹ As an indication of Jefferson's own estimate of his part in public affairs, a private memorandum for an inscription to be placed on his monument was found among his papers, which reads: "Here was buried Thomas Jefferson, Author of the Declaration of Independence, of the Statutes of Virginia for Religious Freedom, and Father of the University of Virginia."

lix, non vitæ tantum claritate, sed etiam opportunitate mortis.”¹

The last public labor of Mr. Jefferson naturally suggests the expression of the high praise which is due, both to him and to Mr. Adams, for their uniform and zealous attachment to learning, and to the cause of general knowledge. Of the advantages of learning, indeed, and of literary accomplishments, their own characters were striking recommendations and illustrations. They were scholars, ripe and good scholars; widely acquainted with ancient, as well as modern literature, and not altogether uninstructed in the deeper sciences. Their acquirements, doubtless, were different, and so were the particular objects of their literary pursuits; as their tastes and characters, in these respects, differed like those of other men. Being, also, men of busy lives, with great objects requiring action constantly before them, their attainments in letters did not become showy or obtrusive. Yet I would hazard the opinion, that if we could now ascertain all the causes which gave them eminence and distinction in the midst of the great men with whom they acted, we should find not among the least their early acquisitions in literature, the resources which it furnished, the promptitude and facility which it communicated, and the wide field it opened for analogy and illustration; giving them thus, on every subject, a larger view and a broader range, as well for discussion as for the government of their own conduct.

Literature sometimes disgusts, and pretension to it much oftener disgusts, by appearing to hang loosely on the character, like something foreign or extrane-

¹ “Fortunate not only in the splendor of his life, but in the very timeliness of his death.”

ous, not a part, but an ill-adjusted appendage ; or by seeming to overload and weigh it down by its unsightly bulk, like the productions of bad taste in architecture, where there is massy and cumbrous ornament without strength or solidity of column. This has exposed learning, and especially classical learning, to reproach. Men have seen that it might exist without mental superiority, without vigor, without good taste, and without utility. But in such cases classical learning has only not inspired natural talent ; or, at most, it has but made original feebleness of intellect, and natural bluntness of perception, something more conspicuous. The question, after all, if it be a question, is, whether literature, ancient as well as modern, does not assist a good understanding, improve natural good taste, add polished armor to native strength, and render its possessor, not only more capable of deriving private happiness from contemplation and reflection, but more accomplished also for action in the affairs of life, and especially for public action. Those whose memories we now honor were learned men ; but their learning was kept in its proper place, and made subservient to the uses and objects of life. They were scholars, not common nor superficial ; but their scholarship was so in keeping with their character, so blended and inwrought, that careless observers, or bad judges, not seeing an ostentatious display of it, might infer that it did not exist ; forgetting, or not knowing, that classical learning in men who act in conspicuous public stations, perform duties which exercise the faculty of writing, or address popular, deliberative, or judicial bodies, is often felt where it is little seen, and sometimes felt more effectually because it is not seen at all.

But the cause of knowledge, in a more enlarged sense, the cause of general knowledge and of popular education, had no warmer friends nor more powerful advocates than Mr. Adams and Mr. Jefferson. On this foundation they knew the whole republican system rested; and this great and all-important truth they strove to impress, by all the means in their power. In the early publication already referred to, Mr. Adams expresses the strong and just sentiment that the education of the poor is more important, even to the rich themselves, than all their own riches. On this great truth, indeed, is founded that unrivaled, that invaluable political and moral institution, our own blessing and the glory of our fathers, the New England system of free schools.

As the promotion of knowledge had been the object of their regard through life, so these great men made it the subject of their testamentary bounty. Mr. Jefferson is understood to have bequeathed his library to the University of Virginia, and that of Mr. Adams is bestowed on the inhabitants of Quincy.¹

Mr. Adams and Mr. Jefferson, fellow-citizens, were successively Presidents of the United States. The comparative merits of their respective administrations for a long time agitated and divided public opinion. They were rivals, each supported by numerous and powerful portions of the people, for the highest office. This contest, partly the cause and partly the consequence of the long existence of two great political parties in the country, is now part of the history of our government. We may naturally

¹ Mr. Adams's library was deposited in Adams Academy, a classical school endowed by him in his will.

regret that anything should have occurred to create difference and discord between those who had acted harmoniously and efficiently in the great concerns of the Revolution. But this is not the time, nor this the occasion, for entering into the grounds of that difference, or for attempting to discuss the merits of the questions which it involves. As practical questions they were canvassed when the measures which they regarded were acted on and adopted; and as belonging to history, the time has not come for their consideration.

It is, perhaps, not wonderful, that, when the Constitution of the United States first went into operation, different opinions should be entertained as to the extent of the powers conferred by it. Here was a natural source of diversity of sentiment. It is still less wonderful, that that event, nearly contemporary with our government under the present Constitution, which so entirely shocked all Europe, and disturbed our relations with her leading powers, should be thought, by different men, to have different bearings on our own prosperity; and that the early measures adopted by the government of the United States, in consequence of this new state of things, should be seen in opposite lights. It is for the future historian, when what now remains of prejudice and misconception shall have passed away, to state these different opinions, and pronounce impartial judgment. In the mean time, all good men rejoice, and well may rejoice, that the sharpest differences sprung out of measures which, whether right or wrong, have ceased with the exigencies that gave them birth, and have left no permanent effect either on the Constitution or on the general prosperity of the country. This

mark, I am aware, may be supposed to have its exception in one measure, the alteration of the Constitution as to the mode of choosing President; but it is true in its general application. Thus the course of policy pursued towards France in 1798, on the one hand, and the measures of commercial restriction commenced in 1807, on the other, both subjects of warm and severe opposition, have passed away and left nothing behind them. They were temporary, and whether wise or unwise, their consequences were limited to their respective occasions. It is equally clear, at the same time, and it is equally gratifying, that those measures of both administrations which were of durable importance, and which drew after them momentous and long remaining consequences, have received general approbation. Such was the organization, or rather the creation, of the navy, in the administration of Mr. Adams; such the acquisition of Louisiana, in that of Mr. Jefferson. The country, it may safely be added, is not likely to be willing either to approve, or to reprobate, indiscriminately, and in the aggregate, all the measures of either, or of any, administration. The dictate of reason and of justice is, that, holding each one his own sentiments on the points of difference, we imitate the great men themselves in the forbearance and moderation which they have cherished, and in the mutual respect and kindness which they have been so much inclined to feel and to reciprocate.

No men, fellow-citizens, ever served their country with more entire exemption from every imputation of selfish and mercenary motives than those to whose memory we are paying these proofs of respect. A suspicion of any disposition to enrich themselves, or

to profit by their public employments, never rested on either. No sordid motive approached them. The inheritance which they have left to their children is of their character and their fame.

Fellow-citizens, I will detain you no longer by this faint and feeble tribute to the memory of the illustrious dead. Even in other hands, adequate justice could not be done to them, within the limits of this occasion. Their highest, their best praise, is your deep conviction of their merits, your affectionate gratitude for their labors and their services. It is not my voice, it is this cessation of ordinary pursuits, this arresting of all attention, these solemn ceremonies, and this crowded house, which speak their eulogy. Their fame, indeed, is safe. That is now treasured up beyond the reach of accident. Although no sculptured marble should rise to their memory, nor engraved stone bear record of their deeds, yet will their remembrance be as lasting as the land they honored. Marble columns may, indeed, moulder into dust, time may erase all impress from the crumbling stone, but their fame remains; for with American Liberty it rose, and with American Liberty only can it perish. It was the last swelling peal of yonder choir, "Their bodies are buried in peace, but their name liveth evermore." I catch that solemn song, I echo that lofty strain of funeral triumph, "Their name liveth evermore."

Of the illustrious signers of the Declaration of Independence there now remains only Charles Carroll. He seems an aged oak, standing alone on the plain, which time has spared a little longer after all its contemporaries have been levelled with the dust. Ven-

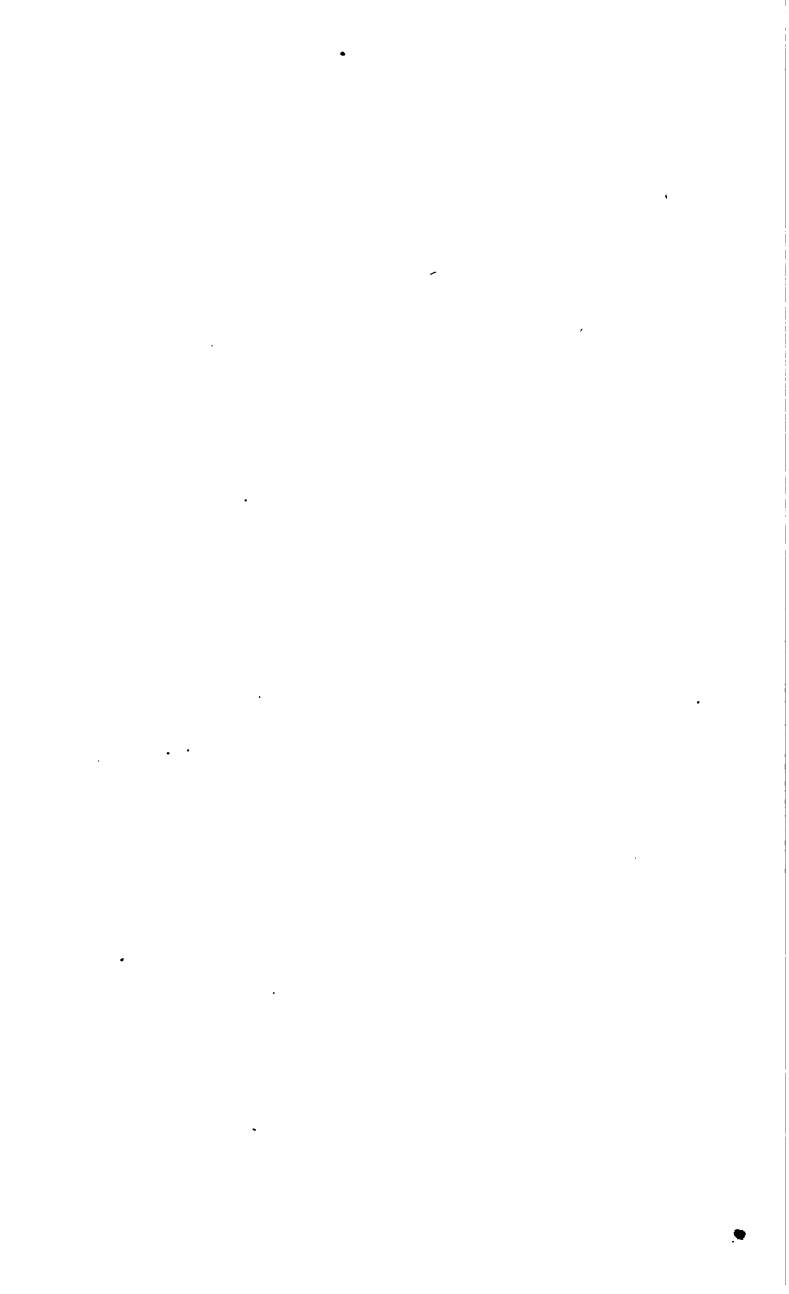
erable object! we delight to gather round its trunk, while yet it stands, and to dwell beneath its shadow. Sole survivor of an assembly of as great men as the world has witnessed, in a transaction one of the most important that history records, what thoughts, what interesting reflections, must fill his elevated and devout soul! If he dwell on the past, how touching its recollections; if he survey the present, how happy, how joyous, how full of the fruition of that hope which his ardent patriotism indulged; if he glance at the future, how does the prospect of his country's advancement almost bewilder his weakened conception! Fortunate, distinguished patriot! Interesting relic of the past! Let him know that, while we honor the dead, we do not forget the living; and that there is not a heart here which does not fervently pray that Heaven may keep him yet back from the society of his companions.

And now, fellow-citizens, let us not retire from this occasion without a deep and solemn conviction of the duties which have devolved upon us. This lovely land, this glorious liberty, these benign institutions, the dear purchase of our fathers, are ours; ours to enjoy, ours to preserve, ours to transmit. Generations past and generations to come hold us responsible for this sacred trust. Our fathers, from behind, admonish us with their anxious paternal voices; posterity calls out to us from the bosom of the future; the world turns hither its solicitous eyes; all, all conjure us to act wisely, and faithfully, in the relation which we sustain. We can never, indeed, pay the debt which is upon us; but by virtue, by morality, by religion, by the cultivation of every good

principle and every good habit, we may hope to enjoy the blessing, through our day, and to leave it unimpaired to our children. Let us feel deeply how much of what we are and of what we possess we owe to the liberty, and to these institutions of government. Nature has, indeed, given us a soil which yields bounteously to the hand of industry, the mighty and fruitful ocean is before us, and the skies over our heads shed health and vigor. But what are land and seas and skies to civilized man, without society, without knowledge, without morals, without religious culture; and how can these be enjoyed, in all their extent and all their excellence, but under the protection of wise institutions and a free government? Fellow-citizens, there is not one of us, there is not one of us here present, who does not, at this moment, and at every moment, experience, in his own condition, and in the condition of those most near and dear to him, the influence and the benefits of this liberty and these institutions. Let us then acknowledge the blessing, let us feel it deeply and powerfully, let us cherish a strong affection for it, and resolve to maintain and perpetuate it. The blood of our fathers, let it not have been shed in vain; the great hope of posterity, let it not be blasted.

The striking attitude, too, in which we stand to the world around us, a topic to which, I fear, I advert too often, and dwell on too long, cannot be altogether omitted here. Neither individuals nor nations can perform their part well, until they understand and feel its importance, and comprehend and justly appreciate all the duties belonging to it. It is not to inflate national vanity, nor to swell a light and empty feeling of self-importance, but it is that we may judge

justly of our situation, and of our own duties, that I earnestly urge upon you this consideration of our position and our character among the nations of the earth. It cannot be denied, but by those who would dispute against the sun, that with America, and in America, a new era commences in human affairs. This era is distinguished by free representative governments, by entire religious liberty, by improved systems of national intercourse, by a newly awakened and an unconquerable spirit of free inquiry, and by a diffusion of knowledge through the community, such as has been before altogether unknown and unheard of. America, America, our country, fellow-citizens, our own dear and native land, is inseparably connected, fast bound up, in fortune and by fate, with these great interests. If they fall, we fall with them; if they stand, it will be because we have maintained them. Let us contemplate, then, this connection, which binds the prosperity of others to our own; and let us manfully discharge all the duties which it imposes. If we cherish the virtues and the principles of our fathers, Heaven will assist us to carry on the work of human liberty and human happiness. Auspicious omens cheer us. Great examples are before us. Our own firmament now shines brightly upon our path. Washington is in the clear, upper sky. These other stars have now joined the American constellation; they circle round their centre, and the heavens beam with new light. Beneath this illumination let us walk the course of life, and at its close devoutly commend our beloved country, the common parent of us all, to the Divine Benignity.



American Statesmen.

Series of Biographies of Men conspicuous in the Political History of the United States.

EDITED BY JOHN T. MORSE, JR.

Each volume, 16mo, gilt top, \$1.25 ; half morocco, \$2.50.

- John Quincy Adams.* By JOHN T. MORSE, JR.
Alexander Hamilton. By HENRY CABOT LODGE.
John C. Calhoun. By H. VON HOLST.
Andrew Jackson. By W. G. SUMNER.
John Randolph. By HENRY ADAMS.
James Monroe. By DANIEL C. GILMAN.
Thomas Jefferson. By JOHN T. MORSE, JR.
Daniel Webster. By HENRY CABOT LODGE.
Albert Gallatin. By JOHN AUSTIN STEVENS.
James Madison. By SYDNEY HOWARD GAY.
John Adams. By JOHN T. MORSE, JR.
John Marshall. By A. B. MAGRUDER.
Samuel Adams. By JAMES K. HOSMER.
Thomas H. Benton. By THEODORE ROOSEVELT.
Henry Clay. By CARL SCHURZ. 2 vols.
Patrick Henry. By MOSES COIT TYLER.
Gouverneur Morris. By THEODORE ROOSEVELT.
Martin Van Buren. By EDWARD M. SHEPARD.
George Washington. By HENRY CABOT LODGE. 2 vols.
Benjamin Franklin. By JOHN T. MORSE, JR.
John Jay. By GEORGE PELLEW.
Lewis Cass. By ANDREW C. McLAUGHLIN.
Abraham Lincoln. By JOHN T. MORSE, JR. 2 vols.
William H. Seward. By THORNTON K. LOTHROP.

IN PREPARATION.

- Charles Francis Adams.* By C. F. ADAMS, JR.
Salmon P. Chase. By ALBERT BUSHNELL HART.
Charles Sumner. By MOORFIELD STOREY.
Thaddeus Stevens. By S. W. MCCALL.

Sold by all Booksellers. Sent, postpaid, by

HOUGHTON, MIFFLIN AND COMPANY.

HISTORY OF THE UNITED STATES FOR SCHOOLS

PRIMARY HISTORY

In preparation for Fiske's History of the United States and other regular text-books of the Grammar Grades.

Hawthorne's Grandfather's Chair: True Stories from New England History (1620-1803). In Riverside Literature Series, Nos. 7, 8, 9. New edition, revised and enlarged, with Portrait of Hawthorne, Biographical Sketch, Notes, and Twelve Historical Illustrations. Each number, paper covers, 15 cents, *net*; the three parts bound in one volume, linen, 50 cents, *net*.

Benjamin Franklin's Autobiography, with a chapter completing his "Life" (1706-1790). In Riverside Literature Series, Nos. 19, 20. With Notes, a Chronological Table, and Five Illustrations. Each part separate, paper covers, 15 cents, *net*; the two numbers in one volume, linen, 40 cents, *net*.

Scudder's George Washington, An Historical Biography (1732-1799). With Portrait. In Riverside Literature Series, Double No. 75. Paper covers, 30 cents, *net*; linen, 40 cents, *net*.

SUPPLEMENTARY MATERIAL.

(CORRELATED LITERATURE).

Longfellow's Song of Hiawatha. With Introductions, Notes, Eight full-page Illustrations by Remington, Illustrations of Indian Wearing Apparel and Utensils, and a Pronouncing Vocabulary. In Riverside Literature Series, Nos. 13, 14. Each part, separate, paper covers, 15 cents, *net*; the two numbers in one volume, linen, 40 cents, *net*.

Hawthorne's Biographical Stories (1706-1820). With Questions. In Riverside Literature Series, No. 10. Paper covers, 15 cents, *net*; bound up with No. 29, containing other stories by Hawthorne, in linen, 40 cents, *net*.

Longfellow's Courtship of Miles Standish; Elizabeth (1620-1624). In Riverside Literature Series, No. 2. With Notes. Paper covers, 15 cents, *net*; linen, 25 cents, *net*.

Holmes's Grandmother's Story of Bunker Hill Battle, Lexington, and Other Poems (1773-1865). With a Portrait, Biographical Sketch, and Notes. Riverside Literature Series, No. 6, paper covers, 15 cents, *net*; bound up with No. 31, containing prose papers by Holmes, linen, 40 cents, *net*.

Longfellow's Paul Revere's Ride, the Cumberland, and Other Poems (1775-1862). With Notes. In Riverside Literature Series, No. 63, paper covers, 15 cents, *net*; bound up with No. 11, containing other poems by Longfellow, linen, 40 cents, *net*.

HOUGHTON, MIFFLIN AND COMPANY.

HISTORY OF THE UNITED STATES FOR SCHOOLS

GRAMMAR SCHOOL HISTORY

John Fiske's History of the United States for Schools. With Topics and Questions, Suggestive Questions and Directions, and Topics for Collateral Reading by F. A. Hill. With many Maps and Illustrations, and full Bibliographical Lists and Aids to Outside Reading. \$1.00, *net*. An admirable book for use in the Seventh and Eighth Grades.

SUPPLEMENTARY MATERIAL

A Bird's-Eye View of our Civil War. By THEODORE AY-RAULT DODGE, U. S. A. With Maps and Illustrations. Revised *Students' Edition*. Crown 8vo, 348 pages, \$1.00, *net*.

(CORRELATED LITERATURE.)

Washington's Rules of Conduct, Diary of Adventure, and Farewell Addresses (1753-1796). With Introductions and Notes. In Riverside Literature Series, No. 24. Paper covers, 15 cents, *net*; linen, 25 cents, *net*.

Longfellow's Evangeline (1755-1793). With a Portrait, Biographical Sketch, Sketch of Longfellow's Home Life by his daughter, Alice M. Longfellow, Historical Introduction, Notes, Illustrations, Map of Acadia, and a Pronouncing Vocabulary. In Riverside Literature Series, No. 1, paper covers, 15 cents, *net*; linen, 25 cents, *net*.

Lowell's Under the Old Elm, Concord Ode, and Other Poems (1775). With a Biographical Sketch, Portrait, and Notes. In Riverside Literature Series, No. 15. Paper covers, 15 cents, *net*; with The Vision of Sir Launfal, etc., linen, 40 cents, *net*.

Fiske's War of Independence (1775-1789). With Maps and a Biographical Sketch. In Riverside Literature Series, Double No. 62. Paper covers, 30 cents, *net*; linen, 40 cents, *net*.

Webster's First Bunker Hill Oration, and Oration on Adams and Jefferson (1825, 1826). In Riverside Literature Series, No. 56. Paper covers, 15 cents, *net*.

The Great Debate between Hayne and Webster; Hayne's Speech; Webster's Reply to Hayne (1830). With Introductory Sketches and Notes. In Riverside Literature Series, Nos. 121, 122. Each, separate, paper covers, 15 cents, *net*. The two numbers in one volume, linen, 40 cents, *net*.

Stowe's Uncle Tom's Cabin (1851). With an Introductory Sketch. In Riverside Literature Series, Quadruple No. 88. Paper covers, 50 cents, *net*; linen, 60 cents, *net*.

Carl Schurz's Abraham Lincoln (1809-1865). Together with Testimonies by Emerson, Whittier, Holmes, and Lowell, and a Biographical Sketch of Carl Schurz. Riverside Literature Series, No. 133. Paper covers, 15 cents, *net*. Also cloth, 16mo \$1.00.

Holmes's My Hunt after the Captain, and Other Papers (1862). In Riverside Literature Series, No. 31. Paper covers, 15 cents, *net*; with No. 6 (Grandmother's Story, etc.), linen, 40 cents, *net*.

Lincoln's Gettysburg Speech, Inaugural Addresses, and Other Papers, with Lowell's Essay on Lincoln (1861-1865). In Riverside Literature Series, No. 32. Paper covers, 15 cents, *net*.

HOUGHTON, MIFFLIN AND COMPANY

TWO ADMIRABLE BOOKS FOR SCHOOL AND COLLEGE

BY

JOHN FISKE, Litt. D., LL. D.

A HISTORY OF THE UNITED STATES FOR SCHOOLS

WITH TOPICAL ANALYSIS, SUGGESTIVE QUESTIONS
AND DIRECTIONS FOR TEACHERS

By FRANK ALPINE HILL, Litt. D., formerly Head Master of the English High School in Cambridge, and later of the Mechanic Arts High School in Boston. Crown 8vo, half leather, small pic type, xxi + 561 pages, \$1.00, net.

Fiske's History of the United States contains 230 Illustrations (including Maps not colored), 5 full-page colored Maps, and 2 double page colored Maps.

With an account by Mr. Fiske of the Spanish-American War.

CIVIL GOVERNMENT IN THE UNITED STATES

CONSIDERED WITH SOME REFERENCE TO ITS ORIGINS

With questions on the text by FRANK A. HILL, formerly Head Master of the English High School at Cambridge, Mass., and Bibliographical Notes by Mr. Fiske. Crown 8vo, 390 pages, \$1.00, net.

An Inquiry Relating to Training for Citizenship in the Public Schools, made by HENRY W. THURSTON, of the Hyde Park High School of Chicago (see *School Review* for October, 1898, p. 579), shows that in the 37 Secondary Schools, located in 12 States, which sent in reports, Fiske's Civil Government is used 33½ per cent. more widely than any other book.

Fiske's History and Civil Government supply an irreproachable text by a great scholar, Suggestive Questions by a great teacher, and Biographical Notes invaluable for individual research.

Descriptive circulars, with sample pages and commendations from teachers who have used the book, will be sent on application.

HOUGHTON, MIFFLIN & COMPANY

4 Park Street, Boston; 11 East 17th Street, New York
378-388 Wabash Avenue, Chicago

THE MINIMUM LIBRARY OF REFERENCE

Recommended by FRANK A. HILL,

In APPENDIX G, on pages 545, 546 of

JOHN FISKE'S HISTORY OF THE UNITED STATES FOR SCHOOLS.

By John Fiske. — Houghton, Mifflin & Co., Boston.

The Discovery of America. With some account of Ancient America and the Spanish Conquest. With a steel portrait of Mr. Fiske, representations of many old Maps, several Modern Maps, Facsimiles, and other illustrations. 2 vols. crown 8vo, gilt top, Small Pica type, 1207 pp., \$4.00.

CONTENTS: Ancient America; Pre-Columbian Voyages; Europe and thay; The Search for the Indies (Eastward or Portuguese Route); to (Westward or Spanish Route); The Finding of Strange Coasts; undus Novus; The Conquest of Mexico; Ancient Peru; The Conquest Peru; Las Casas; The Work of Two Centuries.

Old Virginia and Her Neighbours. With Maps, Notes, etc. 2 vols. crown 8vo, gilt top, Small Pica type, 776 pp. \$4.00.

CONTENTS: The Sea Kings; A Discourse of Western Planting; The end of the Powhatans; The Starving Time; Beginnings of a Common-alth; A Seminary of Sedition; The Kingdom of Virginia; The Mary-nd Palatinate; Leah and Rachel; The Coming of the Cavaliers; Bacon's ebellion; William and Mary; Maryland's Vicissitudes; Society in the ld Dominion; The Carolina Frontier; The Golden Age of Pirates; From dewater to the Mountains.

The American Revolution. With Plans of Battles, and a new Steel Portrait of Washington, engraved by Wilcox from a miniature never before reproduced. 2 vols. crown 8vo, gilt top, Small Pica type, 683 pp., \$4.00.

CONTENTS: The Beginnings; The Crisis; The Continental Congress; dependence; First Blow at the Centre; Second Blow at the Centre; ratoga; The French Alliance; Valley Forge; Monmouth and Newport; ar on the Frontier; War on the Ocean; A Year of Disasters; Bene-ct Arnold; Yorktown.

The Beginnings of New England; or, The Puri-tan Theocracy in its relations to Civil and Religious Liberty. Crown 8vo, gilt top, Small Pica type, 313 pp., \$2.00.

CONTENTS: The Roman Idea and the English Idea; The Puritan Ex-lus; The Planting of New England; The New England Confederacy; ing Philip's War; The Tyranny of Andros.

The Critical Period of American History, 1783-1789. With Map, Notes, etc. Crown 8vo, gilt top, Small Pica type, 386 pp., \$2.00.

CONTENTS: Results of Yorktown; The Thirteen Commonwealths; The League of Friendship; Drifting toward Anarchy; Germs of National Sovereignty; The Federal Convention; Crowning the Work.

There are also uniform Illustrated Editions of The American Revolution (2 vols., large 8vo, \$8.00), The Critical Period (1 vol., large 8vo, \$4.00), and The Beginnings of New England (1 vol., large 8vo, \$4.00). With many illustrations, comprising Portraits, Maps, Facsimiles, Contemporary Views, Prints, and other Historic Material. These Illustrated Editions are not included in the Minimum Library of Reference.

By Francis Parkman. — Little, Brown & Co., Boston.

FRANCE AND ENGLAND IN NORTH AMERICA.

Pioneers of France in the New World. Contents:

Huguenots in Florida. Champlain and his Associates. (France and England in North America. Part First.) By FRANCIS PARKMAN. With a steel Portrait of Menendez and Maps of Florida in 1565, and the Route of Champlain in 1615 and 1616. Popular Edition. 12mo, cloth, Small Pica type, 497 pp., \$1.50.

The Jesuits in North America in the Seventeenth

Century. (France and England in North America. Part Second.) By FRANCIS PARKMAN. With a Map of the Country of the Hurons. Popular Edition. 12mo, cloth, Small Pica type, 480 pp., \$1.50.

La Salle and the Discovery of the Great West

(France and England in North America. Part Third.) By FRANCIS PARKMAN. New Edition, revised, with Additions. With Maps of the Countries traversed by Marquette, Hennepin, and La Salle, and La Salle's Colony on the Illinois, from the Map of Franquelin, 1684. Popular Edition. 12mo, cloth, Small Pica type, 508 pp., \$1.50.

This volume embodies the exploits and adventures of the first European explorers of the Valley of the Mississippi; the efforts of the French to secure the whole interior of the Continent; the attempt of La Salle to find a westward passage to India; his colony on the Illinois; his scheme of invading Mexico; his contest with the Jesuits; and his assassination by his own followers.

The Old Régime in Canada. (France and England

in North America. Part Fourth.) By FRANCIS PARKMAN. With Map of Canada and adjacent Countries toward the close of the Seventeenth Century. Popular Edition. 12mo, cloth, Small Pica type, 497 pp., \$1.50.

THE MINIMUM LIBRARY OF REFERENCE.

The influences which controlled the colony in its beginning and during its first century of life—the Roman Catholic mission spirit, and the monarchical ambition of Louis XIV.—are delineated in character and operation with remarkable skill.— *The Literary World*.

Count Frontenac and New France under Louis XIV. (France and England in North America. Part Fifth.) By FRANCIS PARKMAN. With Map of Canada. Popular Edition. 12mo, cloth, Small Pica type, 479 pp., \$1.50.

A Half-Century of Conflict. (France and England in North America. Part Sixth.) By FRANCIS PARKMAN. Popular Edition. 2 vols. 12mo, cloth, Small Pica type, 744 pp., \$3.00.

Montcalm and Wolfe. (France and England in North America. Part Seventh.) By FRANCIS PARKMAN. With Portraits of Montcalm and Wolfe, and Maps of the British Colonies and Northern New France in 1750-1760, Acadia with adjacent Islands in 1755, the Region of Lake George from surveys made in 1762, Siege of Fort William Henry, Siege of Louisburg, State of the Country round Ticonderoga, the Siege of Quebec in 1759, and Sketches of the Field of Battle at Braddock's Defeat, July 9, 1755. Popular Edition. 2 vols. 12mo, cloth, Small Pica type, 1042 pp., \$3.00.

The Conspiracy of Pontiac and the Indian War after the Conquest of Canada. By FRANCIS PARKMAN. New Edition, revised, with Additions. With Maps of the Forts and Settlements in America in 1763, Fort and Settlements of Detroit in 1763, the Country on the Ohio and Muskingum Rivers, and the Illinois Country, with part of the River Mississippi. Popular Edition. 2 vols. 12mo, cloth, Small Pica type, 779 pages, \$3.00.

By John Esten Cooke. — Houghton, Mifflin & Co., Boston.

Virginia. A History of the People. American Commonwealths Series. 16mo, gilt top, Long Primer type, 545 pp., \$1.25.

By John B. McMaster. — D. Appleton & Co., New York.

History of the People of the United States, from the Revolution to the Civil War. By JOHN B. MCMASTER. To be completed in six volumes. Vols. I., II., III., and IV. now ready. 8vo, Small Pica type, 2558 pp., each \$2.50.

CONTENTS: The State of America in 1784; The Weakness of the Confederation; The Low State of Trade and Commerce; The Breaking Up of the Confederation; The Constitution before the People; The Federal Government; The Beginning of Prosperity; The Struggle for Neutrality; The British Treaty of 1794; The Quarrel with France; The Downfall of the Federal Party; Town and Country Life in 1800; Purchase of the Far West; The Government and Boundary of Louisiana; Results of the Purchase of Louisiana; The Uses made of the Public Lands; The Spread of Democracy; Free Trade and Sailors' Rights; The Long Embargo; Drifting into War; The Struggle for Peace; Economic State of the People; Making Ready for War; Fighting on the Frontier; The Ship Duels and the Privateers;

THE MINIMUM LIBRARY OF REFERENCE.

The Coast Blockade ; Fighting on the Gulf Coast ; The Stress of War ; The Return of Peace ; Disorders of the Currency ; The Tariff of 1816 ; Political Reforms ; The Routes of Transportation ; The Seminole War ; The Fisheries and Boundaries ; Hard Times and Anti-Banking ; Pauperism and Crime ; American Bible and Colonization Societies ; Slavery beyond the Mississippi.

Directors of the Old South Work, Old South Meeting House, Boston.

The Old South Leaflets. Edited with Historical and Bibliographical Notes, by EDWIN D. MEAD. Each pamphlet, about 16 pages, Long Primer type, 5 cents per copy.

- No. 11. Lincoln's Inaugurals and Emancipation Proclamation.
- No. 17. Verrazzano's Voyage, 1524.
- No. 29. The Discovery of America, from the Life of Columbus by his son, Ferdinand Columbus.
- No. 30. Strabo's Introduction to Geography.
- No. 31. The Voyages to Vinland, from the Saga of Eric the Red.
- No. 32. Marco Polo's Account of Japan and Java.
- No. 33. Columbus's Letter to Gabriel Sanchez, describing the First Voyage and Discovery.
- No. 34. Amerigo Vespucci's Account of his First Voyage.
- No. 38. Henry Lee's Funeral Oration on Washington.
- No. 40. Manasseh Cutler's Description of Ohio, 1787.
- No. 41. Washington's Journal of his Tour to the Ohio, 1770.
- No. 42. Garfield's Address on the North-west Territory and the Western Reserve.
- No. 43. George Rogers Clark's Account of the Capture of Vincennes, 1779.
- No. 45. Fremont's Account of his Ascent of Fremont's Peak.
- No. 46. Father Marquette at Chicago, 1673.
- No. 51. "New England's First Fruits," 1643.
- No. 68. Governor Hutchinson's Account of the Boston Tea Party.
- No. 69. Adrien Van der Donck's Description of New Netherlands in 1655.

They deserve to find a place in every schoolhouse library. Their use, too, as adjuncts to the Reader should not be overlooked. — *The Nation* (New York).

Special arrangements have been made with the different publishers of the books which compose the Minimum Library of Reference by which Houghton, Mifflin & Co. are enabled to offer the entire Library at the reduced price of \$29.67, with the cost of transportation not prepaid.

N. B. For the entire Library, or for any of Fiske's books, or for Cooke's Virginia, please address Houghton, Mifflin & Co. For any other books in the Library of Reference, please address their publishers.

HOUGHTON, MIFFLIN AND COMPANY,

4 Park Street, Boston ; 11 East Seventeenth Street, New York ;
378-388 Wabash Avenue, Chicago.

The Riverside Literature Series.

Each regular single number, paper, 15 cents, net, postpaid.

63. Longfellow's Paul Revere's Ride, and Other Poems.**
- 64, 65, (66). Tales from Shakespeare. CHARLES and MARY LAMB.
In three parts. [Also, in one volume, linen, 50 cents.]
67. Shakespeare's Julius Cæsar.* **
68. Goldsmith's Deserted Village, The Traveller, etc.*
69. Hawthorne's Old Manse, and A Few Mosses.**
70. A Selection from Whittier's Child Life in Poetry.**
71. A Selection from Whittier's Child Life in Prose.**
72. Milton's L'Allegro, Il Penseroso, Comus, Lycidas, etc.**
73. Tennyson's Enoch Arden, and Other Poems.
74. Gray's Elegy, etc.; Cowper's John Gilpin, etc.
75. Scudder's George Washington.§
76. Wordsworth's On the Intimations of Immortality, etc.
77. Burns's Cotter's Saturday Night, and Other Poems.
78. Goldsmith's Vicar of Wakefield.§
79. Lamb's Old China, and Other Essays of Elia.
80. Coleridge's Rime of the Ancient Mariner, etc.; Campbell's
Lochiel's Warning, etc.*
81. Holmes's Autocrat of the Breakfast-Table. §§
82. Hawthorne's Twice-Told Tales. §§§
83. George Eliot's Silas Marner.§
84. Dana's Two Years before the Mast. §§§
85. Hughes's Tom Brown's School Days. §§
86. Scott's Ivanhoe. §§§
87. Defoe's Robinson Crusoe. §§§
88. Stowe's Uncle Tom's Cabin. §§§
89. Swift's Gulliver's Voyage to Lilliput.**
90. Swift's Gulliver's Voyage to Brobdingnag.**
91. Hawthorne's House of the Seven Gables. §§§
92. Burroughs's A Bunch of Herbs, and Other Papers.
93. Shakespeare's As You Like It.* **
94. Milton's Paradise Lost. Books I.-III.**

Also, bound in linen: * 25 cents. ** 11 and 63 in one vol., 40 cents; likewise, 40 and 69, 55 and 67, 70 and 71, 72 and 94, 89 and 90; 93 and 106. † Also in one vol., 40 cents. § Double Number, 30 cents; linen, 40 cents. §§ Triple Number, 45 cents; linen, 50 cents. §§§ Quadruple Number, 50 cents; linen, 60 cents.

EXTRA NUMBERS.

- A American Authors and Their Birthdays. Programmes and Suggestions for the Celebration of the Birthdays of Authors. By A. S. ROX.
- B Portraits and Biographies of 20 American Authors.
- C A Longfellow Night. For Catholic Schools and Societies.
- D Literature in School. Essays by HORACE E. SCUDDER.
- E Harriet Beecher Stowe. Dialogues and Scenes.
- F Longfellow Leaflets.
- G Whittier Leaflets.
- H Holmes Leaflets.
- O Lowell Leaflets.
- I The Riverside Manual for Teachers. Suggestions and Illustrative Lessons leading up to Primary Reading. By I. F. HALL.
- K The Riverside Primer and Reader. (*Special Number.*) Paper covers, with cloth back, 25 cents; in strong linen binding, 30 cents.
- L The Riverside Song Book. 120 Classic American Poems set to Standard Music. (*Special Number, 30 cents; boards, 40 cents.*)
- M Lowell's Fable for Critics. (*Double Number, 30 cents.*)
- N Selections from the Writings of Eleven American Authors.
- P The Hiawatha Primer (*Special Number.*) Based on Longfellow's Song of Hiawatha, and designed for use as the child's first book in reading. By FLORENCE HOLBROOK. Cloth only, 40 cents.
- Q Selections from the Writings of Eleven English Authors.

The Riverside Literature Series.

Each regular single number, paper, 15 cents, net, postpaid.

- 95, 96, 97, 98. **Cooper's Last of the Mohicans.** In four parts.
(*The four parts also bound in one volume, linen, 60 cents.*)
99. **Tennyson's Coming of Arthur, and Other Idylls of the King.**
100. **Burke's Conciliation with the Colonies.** Edited by R. ANDERSEN, A. M.*
101. **Homer's Iliad. Books I., VI., XXII., and XXIV.** POPE.*
102. **Macaulay's Essays on Johnson and Goldsmith.***
103. **Macaulay's Essay on Milton.***
104. **Macaulay's Life and Writings of Addison.***
Nos. 102, 103, and 104 are edited by WILLIAM P. TRENT.
105. **Carlyle's Essay on Burns.** Edited by GEORGE R. NOYES.*
106. **Shakespeare's Macbeth.** Edited by RICHARD GRANT WHITE,
and furnished with Additional Notes by HELEN GRAY CONE.* **
- 107, 108. **Grimms' German Household Tales.** In two parts. (*The two parts also bound in one volume, linen, 40 cents.*)
109. **Bunyan's Pilgrim's Progress.** Edited by W. V. MOODY.\$
110. **De Quincey's Flight of a Tartar Tribe.** Edited by M. H. TURK.*
111. **Tennyson's Princess.** Edited by W. J. ROLFE. (*Double No., 30 cents.*) Also, in *Rolfe's Students' Series, cloth, to Teachers, 53 cents.*
112. **Virgil's Æneid. Books I.-III.** Translated by C. P. CRANCH.
113. **Poems from the Writings of Ralph Waldo Emerson.** Edited, with an Introduction and Notes, by GEORGE H. BROWNE.**
114. **Greek Folk Stories.** Told Anew by JOSEPHINE PRESTON MOODY. With an Index of Mythology.*
115. **Browning's Pied Piper of Hamelin, and Other Poems.**
116. **Shakespeare's Hamlet.** Edited by RICHARD GRANT WHITE,
and furnished with Additional Notes by HELEN GRAY CONE.\$
117. **Stories from the Arabian Nights.** With an Introductory Note. (*The two parts also bound in one volume, linen, 40 cents.*)
119. **Poe's Raven, The Fall of the House of Usher, etc.****
120. **Poe's Gold-Bug, The Purloined Letter, and Other Tales.****
Nos. 119, 120, are edited by WILLIAM P. TRENT.
121. **The Great Debate: Hayne's Speech.****
122. **The Great Debate: Webster's Reply to Hayne.****
Nos. 121, 122, are edited by LINDSAY SWIFT.
123. **Lowell's Democracy, and Other Papers.****
124. **Aldrich's Baby Bell, The Little Violinist, etc.**
125. **Dryden's Palamon and Arcite.** Edited by ARTHUR GILMAN.*
126. **The King of the Golden River, by JOHN RUSKIN; and Other Wonder Stories.***
127. **Keats's Ode on a Grecian Urn, and Other Poems.**
128. **Byron's Prisoner of Chillon, and Other Poems.**
129. **Plato's The Judgment of Socrates: being The Apology, Crito, and the closing scene of Phædo.** Translated by PAUL E. MORE.
130. **Emerson's The Superlative, and Other Essays.**
131. **Emerson's Nature, and Compensation.** Edited by EDWARD W. EMERSON.
132. **Arnold's Sohrab and Rustum, and Other Poems.** Edited by LOUISE IMOGEN GUINEY.
133. **Carl Schurz's Abraham Lincoln.****
134. **Scott's Lay of the Last Minstrel.** Edited by W. J. ROLFE. (*Double No., 30 cents.*) Also in *Rolfe's Students' Series, cloth, to Teachers, 53 cents.*
- **Chaucer's Prologue, The Knight's Tale, and The Nun's Priest's Tale.** (*Double No., 30 cents.*) Edited by FRANK J. MATHER, JR. *In preparation.*

Also, bound in linen: * 25 cents. ** 39 and 123 in one vol., 40 cents; likewise 72 and 94, 93 and 106, 113 and 42, 119 and 120, 121 and 122, 133 and 32.
\$ Double Number, paper, 30 cents; linen, 40 cents.

Other numbers in preparation.

HOUGHTON, MIFFLIN AND COMPANY.







3 2044 004 618 6

THE BORROWER WILL BE CHARGED
AN OVERDUE FEE IF THIS BOOK IS
NOT RETURNED TO THE LIBRARY ON
OR BEFORE THE LAST DATE STAMPED
BELOW. NON-RECEIPT OF OVERDUE
NOTICES DOES NOT EXEMPT THE
BORROWER FROM OVERDUE FEES.

Harvard College Widener Library
Cambridge, MA 02138 (617) 495-2413

WIDENER
MAY 12 1998
BOOK DUE

WIDENER
JUN 14 2005
BOOK DUE

